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ABSTRACT

The problems of agricultural laborers were discussed in this report on the public hearings held by the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor. Problems were identified in the areas of wages of farm workers, labor standards and labor shortages, welfare, marginal farmers, Federal aid, public assistance in rural areas, family farmers, and the monopoly of land and water. The major conclusion was that there is a need for total commitment to the war on poverty among the migrants and other farm workers. Twenty-three recommendations made by the National Advisory Committee in light of the hearings were in the areas of legislation to aid the farm worker and family farmer, legislation to aid the rural poor, government action to aid the farm worker and family farmer, and government action to aid the rural poor. (PS)

A REPORT ON THE PUBLIC HEARINGS HELD BY THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 18-19, 1964

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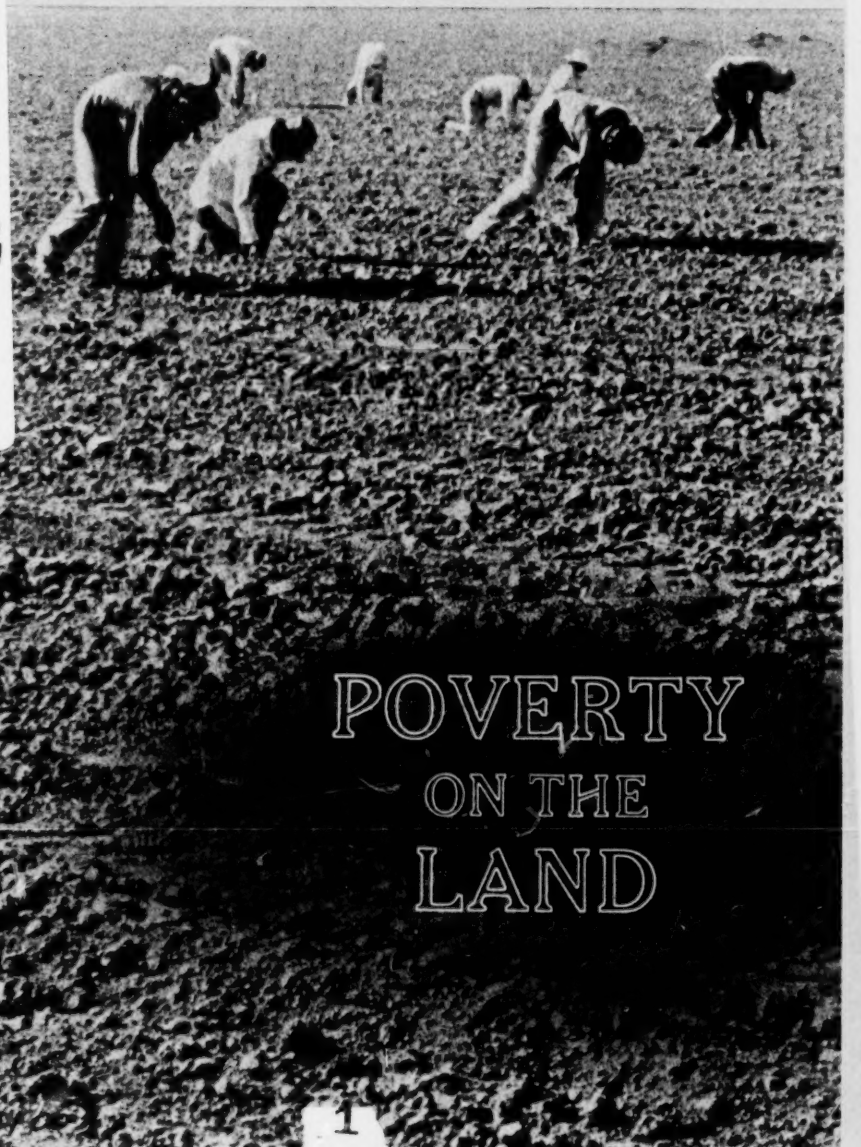

POVERTY ON THE LAND

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POVERTY ON THE LAND

IN A LAND OF PLENTY

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR
112 E. 19TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003
MAY—1965

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FAY BENNETT
Executive Secretary
National Advisory Committee
on Farm Labor

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POVERTY ON THE LAND IN A LAND OF PLENTY

The grinding misery of the rural poor is a twice-told tale—a bitter inheritance from father to son, mocking the abundance that is their country's pride.

To participants in the public hearings of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, held in Washington, D. C., May 18 and 19, 1964, it was an old story. For some it was their own story. Sharecroppers were there, and marginal farmers. Hired farm workers from field and factory spoke of their wrongs. Religious groups who had lived with the problems of the land for a generation; civic groups who had battered at the doors of legislators for all of this century; unions who spoke for the unorganized; farm organizations whose battle with monopoly was a hundred years old; government agencies testing new tools for the war on poverty—all were there and all learned from each other.

The face of the land itself cries out, and the national war on poverty has exposed its wounds for all to see. Sargent Shriver, director of the nation's antipoverty effort, summarized the problem when he addressed the hearings dinner:

Almost half of all our poor live in rural areas, and more than half the rural poor live in the South. One out of every three rural families must exist on an income of less than $3,000 a year. The proportion of dilapidated and substandard housing in rural America is almost three times that in urban areas. Clinics and social services are almost totally lacking. Rural children get one-third less medical service than children in and near cities, and their mortality rate is 50 per cent higher than that of urban children. Rural schools are weakest and the dropout rates highest. Only one in ten of the young people growing up on farms will be able to make a living there.

Most underprivileged of all are the farm wage workers, whose average annual earnings from farm and non-farm sources combined are barely over $1,000 a year. Half a million of them migrate, following the harvests each year in search of work, and usually their families go with them.

About 16 per cent of America's 35 million poor still live on farms; more than 40 per cent of all farm families are poor, and more than 80 per cent of the nonwhites. The hard-core "boxed in" million of these who are especially handicapped by age, disability, or illiteracy see no way out at all, according to Mr. Shriver.

And the individual family farmer who is making a go of it finds himself threatened on every side by the encroachment of old and new monopolies—corporate control of land, of water, of markets, of competitive cheap labor.

The Five-Year Record

Five years ago, the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor —then just established—held similar public hearings in Washington, D. C. In its aftermath, public concern with the conditions of farm workers crystallized into visible signs of reform. A campaign against the importation of hundreds of thousands of foreign contract workers was initiated, climaxed in 1964 by the termination of Public Law 78, the Mexican contract program, under which the major portion of foreign workers was employed. The Department of Labor established standards for the use of the state employment services in the hiring of farm workers across state borders, and set adverse-effect wage rates for areas using foreign workers, i.e., rates that are supposed to be not so low as to adversely affect domestic farm labor employment. Legislation (particularly the package of bills sponsored by Senator Harrison Williams) was introduced into Congress. The first legislation in decades was passed—the Migrant Health Act in 1962 and later, in 1964, federal registration of crew leaders. The AFL-CIO gave its support to a drive to organize farm workers into unions.

Yet at the time of the second hearings, in May 1964, when the people on the land came again to speak for themselves before the nation, the similarities in their conditions were far more striking than any differences.

"With all of the testimony that has been given in the State of California, and here in the nation's capital on the question of farm labor, the great miracle is that we are still dealing with the same questions that occupied us back in 1952," a representative of the Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers commented. ". . . In many ways the situation of the migrant workers, rather than improving, is deteriorating. Mechanization is eliminating many jobs, particularly in cotton, and cutting down on the days of labor in those jobs still available. Last year, both the days worked by migrants and their annual income dropped significantly.

Employment and Training

"Moreover, the retraining and resettlement of ex-migrants by no means matches the accelerated flow into the migrant labor pool of ex-tenants, sharecroppers and marginal farmers. Squeezed off the land by the harsh workings of the Agricultural Revolution, these unskilled and generally poorly educated members of mostly minority

groups have had little choice except to flee to the misery of city slums or to join the migrants in seeking seasonal farm work."[1]

A National Sharecroppers Fund spokesman from Louisiana detailed the picture in one state: "Farm employment in Louisiana has dropped from 248,000 workers in 1940 to 67,390 as of April 1, 1964. Yet our high and vocational schools in Louisiana continue to train approximately 17,000 youths each year to enter the labor market in the field of agriculture. . . . Wages in this field are pitifully inadequate and consequently they choose not to seek employment in this field even though they have been so trained—and they have not received adequate training to fill the modern day job in agriculture."[2]

WAGES OF FARM WORKERS

Jobs, wages, training. These are inseparable parts of the income picture, but wages are basic. Participants in the hearings who were aware only of the over-all statistical trend of rising wage rates received a rude shock.

"Wages . . . Are Pitifully Inadequate. . . ."

"I have known workers that were paid five and six dollars a week. The workers that these contractors bring up from the South are no better off than a Georgia chain gang. They sleep in the contractor's labor camp, are fed by him and depend on him to take them back down South. If they open their mouth and complain the contractor tells them he is going to toss them out in the street. He knows a man can't walk back to Florida." This is a worker on Long Island speaking.[3]

South Carolina tells a similar story. "The wage scale is so low for so many Negroes in rural areas that it is hard to separate the underemployed from unemployed. If a person is receiving $10.00 per week, he is often refused registration for a STEP [Special Training for Economic Progress, a state program under MDTA] program. Many employers are opposed to raising wages above the generally accepted pattern for Negroes."[4]

These are perhaps exceptional cases—but there are too many "isolated" instances of incredible exploitation. A broader picture emerged from testimony on Florida, but it was discouraging in a different way.

"The minimum hourly rate offered by the Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association increased little in 14 years because of the labor im-

portation [British West Indians]. It stayed at 50 cents an hour for three years, 1949-51, then it stayed at 55 cents for eight years, 1952-59, then it stayed at 60 cents for two years, 1960 and 1961, and went to 65 cents in 1962. This was an increase of 15 cents an hour over a 14-year period.

("Average hourly manufacturing earnings in Florida during the same period, 1949-1962, nearly doubled, an increase from $1.00 to $1.99 an hour. Average hourly retail earnings increased some 70 per cent or 73 cents an hour from 93 cents to $1.66.")[5]

"Adverse Effect" in Florida

In 1963, an adverse-effect wage minimum of 95 cents was established, but joint pressure of growers and Senators from Florida resulted in its suspension and the reversion of wages to previous levels for the 1963-64 season. The 95-cent minimum was not reinstituted until April, when the peak need for seasonal workers had passed.

The protest by Florida growers, the rank exploitation by contractors (and, as indicated later in a Long Island worker's story, by giant corporations like A & P), the pressure for continuation of labor importation—all indicate one thing which is sometimes overlooked when indignation is focused on the misery of farm workers. Farm workers are not exploited in a vacuum. They are exploited so that huge growers and giant non-farm corporations can make higher profits. Less than 9 per cent of our farmers pay more than two-thirds of the total farm wage bill.[6] These are not family farmers. They are impersonal, gigantic, profit-seeking corporations.

Further, they have a kind of monopoly control of labor. For, so long as they have been able to use governmental resources as well as their own to import an apparently inexhaustible supply of workers, they have been able to depress wages and working conditions far below the norm in any other American industry. And the slight compromises they have had to make in meeting the standards set by government when pressed by public opinion have been scant indeed if compared with their over-all profit advantage.

Wages and Prices

Further, any excuse that raising wages would so raise costs as to price farmers out of the competitive market falls under analysis of even crops that use a great deal of labor. ". . . We have looked into the effect this [minimum wage] might have on consumer costs," the Consumers League spokesman reported. "So far as we can determine, and from an examination of studies made by economists and of the 1960 Minority Report of the House Agriculture Committee, we are of the opinion that increased food and fiber costs would be very slight. For instance, a 10 per cent increase in pay for lettuce workers

ALL EMPLOYEES WHO PERFORM SERVICES AT THIS LOCATION AS AN INCIDENT TO THE PREPARATION OF FRUITS AND VEGETABLES FOR MARKET ARE ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURAL LABOR. SUCH EMPLOYEES ARE NOT COVERED BY THE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE LAW OF NEW YORK STATE AND THEREFORE WILL NOT RECEIVE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE BENEFITS BASED ON THEIR EMPLOYMENT AS FORESAID.

THE GREAT ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC TEA COMPANY
National Produce Division

would raise the price less than one-tenth of a cent per head of lettuce. A 10-cent increase for tomato workers would spread over 24 cans of tomatoes. A 10-cent per hour increase for cotton workers would add about 50 cents a year to the average family's budget for cotton. . . .

"A 1962 study by Donald L. Brooke of the Florida Agricultural Experiment Station reveals that a 25 per cent increase in field labor costs in seven Florida crops would add less than one cent per pound increase to consumers. . . ."[7]

Exclusion from Social Legislation

A major reason for the substandard conditions of farm workers is their exclusion from coverage by the national minimum wage, an exclusion due in large part to the pressures and political power of the corporate farmers who were called by former Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell "the toughest lobby" he ever faced. Furthermore, their exclusion from the right to organize and bargain collectively has made it extraordinarily difficult for them to organize their own unions and raise wage levels and working conditions.

Witness after witness testified to this discrimination. A farm worker from California spoke:

". . . Central to the problem of farm workers is the issue of unequal protection of the laws in violation of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. . . . All other issues such as housing, welfare, schooling, etc., are peripheral or secondary. . . . It is noteworthy that workers in the mass industries did not organize or move till they were given the legal right to in the form of the Wagner Act. Nor did Negroes move or demonstrate till they got a Supreme Court decision. The 14th Amendment to the Constitution means nothing if it can be arbitrarily compromised by the legislature. It means nothing if it doesn't mean what it says.

"Equal protection . . . would give us a minimum wage and other benefits. [It] would give us unemployment insurance in off seasons instead of surplus commodities. Equal protection would give us full coverage under Social Security like first-class citizens.

"I am pretty tired of being treated as a member of some subhuman species that cannot fit the definition of person for the purpose of the 14th Amendment. . . ."[8]

The Puerto Rican Contract

A more optimistic outlook was offered by the representative of the Puerto Rican government which negotiates on behalf of those Puerto Rican workers who come to the United States under contract (they can, of course, travel freely to the mainland and obtain work themselves). "We believe that a worker, agricultural as well as others, should have a basic minimum wage. So our contract calls for that. As of September 15 this year [1964], we will have established a $1 minimum wage for agricultural workers after long years of fighting. When we began the wages were 55 cents. . . . There are higher wages than that [$1] for nursery workers and for fishery workers, and so on. [With the first crops of 1965 the minimum wage will rise to $1.25 an hour.]

"The contract also establishes another minimum. We believe that if a man loses an arm or a leg on a farm, that his arm or his leg is at least worth as much as the arm or the leg of his brother worker

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in an industry, in a factory near him, who will get the set fee established for the value of that leg or arm. Consequently, all of our workers are covered by Workmen's Compensation in 16 states where they work, despite the fact that in only two or three of these states is Workmen's Compensation law established for agricultural workers as such. To those who say that you cannot establish Workmen's Compensation for agricultural workers, we turn around and say, in 16 states they do do it when they are asked to do it. This year we'll be extending it to more. . . ."[9]

A Co-op Experiment

Experiences of a cooperative crew in California (who organized themselves democratically rather than relying on the crew-leader system) exposed other effects of substandard wages:

". . . Without the protection of a minimum wage law, we find that the competition to stay alive is so great that the workers magnify their adverse position. It is not uncommon for a crew leader or contractor to underbid the crew which is on the job. The farm labor co-op has lost jobs to crews underbidding by as much as 15 cents an hour. This type of underbidding is one of the primary causes of low wages in agriculture.

"A rather important piece of legislation is Social Security. Few of us are aware of its full implications. Farm workers have theoretical Social Security coverage if they work for one employer over 20 days at hourly wages or earn over $150 from employers at piece rates. This means that many workers never earn any credit because they don't work long enough for one employer. Actually, some workers deliberately change employers every $150 because their wages are so low that the 3⅝ [per cent taken from pay for social security] reduction cuts deeply into their meager earnings. Some contractors fire workers before their earnings reach $150 to avoid paying the 3⅝ per cent tax. It is common practice for contractors to deduct social security at every weighing of cotton or at the end of every day. Not a bad practice in and of itself, but some contractors never ask for a social security number, the worker does not receive credit, and his 3⅝ per cent lines the pocket of the contractor. . . ."[10]

"Social security is the biggest mess I've encountered," a community worker reported. "The contractors withhold but do not pay it in for the worker. When the worker goes to apply there are not funds sufficient enough to warrant a retirement check. Then these people must in turn apply for welfare."[11]

Legislative Problems

A Congressman reported on lesser known difficulties in obtaining legislation:

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"Under normal circumstances, minimum wage legislation would be referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, of which I have been happy to be a member. The Committee has, I am sure you will agree, been extraordinarily successful in its legislative endeavors in this area. Unfortunately, however, minimum wage legislation for agricultural workers, by some quirk, is referred to the Committee on Agriculture, which has proved to be only a graveyard for such proposals. I would be less than frank with you if I did not point out that in the future any success for minimum wage legislation for agricultural workers can result only from some difficult-to-achieve changes in the present legislative process. That doesn't mean we should not bother to fight on, but rather emphasizes how we must work together to find an imaginative and yet practical solution to permit attention to this problem as quickly as possible."[12]

Encouragement came from Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr., Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, who has sponsored most of the farm-labor legislation in recent years:

"I just want to say very briefly I think that we're in the early dawn of hope for better lives for migratory farm workers. . . . Any thoughtful person who observes the poverty and the total wretchedness of the lives of migratory farm workers and their youngsters will never leave the work of trying to improve these lives until it is done."[13] The Counsel to the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor filled in the record:

THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

". . . We've passed, subsequent to the establishment of the Migrant Health program, six other bills through the Senate. Those are bills to provide federal registration of the crew leaders, the middlemen between the migrant farm workers and the farm employers; education assistance for the migrant child; day-care facilities assistance for migrant children, to get them out of the camps, out of the fields into proper supervisory situations during the day; a bill to provide more adequate protection against harmful child labor—as you know, there is no federal law applicable during the summer so that the child down to any age, subject to a state law to the contrary, can go into the fields; a national advisory council. . . .

". . . An adequate minimum wage, the right that industrial workers have to organize themselves into a labor organization to advance their cause, these are the key underpinnings . . . the basic foundation upon which a true, long-range acceptable solution to the migrant farm worker problem must be founded. . . ."[14]

These goals will be realized only with wide public support such as that indicated by the National Council of Churches:

"Well known to all who have been close to the poor and disadvantaged among our farm workers is the church-sponsored Ministry of Migrants; also the support of concerned church workers for legislation, both state and federal, aimed at basic upbuilding of the economic and social status of this segment of our citizenry usually found on the lowest rung of the economic ladder. . . . We are glad to note that the President has included the measures on behalf of migrants and other farm workers . . . as specific parts of his anti-poverty program. I cannot urge too strongly, on behalf of a large portion of our church people, that you press in every way at your command for final enactment of these important—many of them long-standing—remedial measures."[15]

Other factors in the wage situation were introduced by different witnesses:

"Farm wages climb slowly," a government witness testified. "Preliminary results of a study comparing agricultural and manufacturing wage rates paid ten years ago with those paid today indicate that while manufacturing wages have increased about 50 per cent, farm wage rates have risen only about 30 per cent. More significant, however, the 50 per cent rise in manufacturing wage rates amounted to just over a 75-cent an hour increase during this ten-year period. The 30 per cent increase in farm wage rates amounted to less than 25 cents an hour in this same ten-year period. There must be an upward adjustment in farm wage rates, not because the government says so, but because farm employers are going to have to become competitive to attract the workers they need."[16]

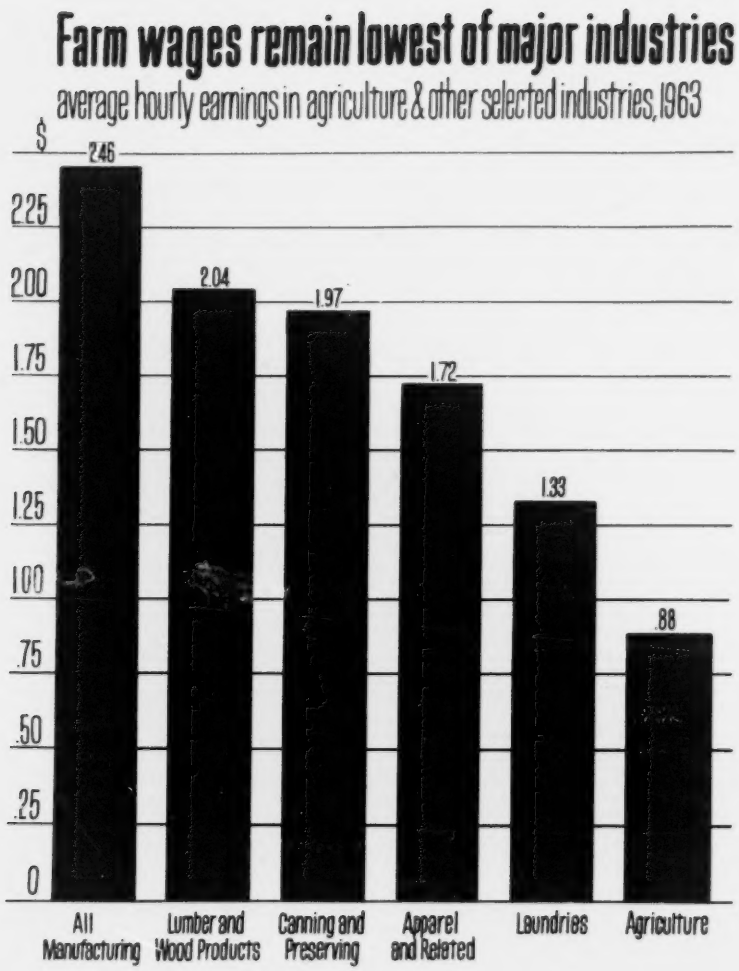
Wages and Mechanization

A farm employer representative asserted that increasing the wage levels, and particularly the establishment of a federal minimum wage, would force farmers to mechanize further, thus reducing the amount of work, and making the general income level fall rather than rise:

"An extension of the current wage trend indicates an increase of about 10 per cent in real farm wage rates during the next three or four years; and this will result in or be accompanied by a reduction of farm labor employment of the magnitude of about 18 per cent, after adjustment for variations in total production.

"This is for you the horns of a dilemma. You may be able to push farm wages up faster than the current upward trend by the enactment of minimum wage laws and perhaps other means.

"But the result is increased unemployment—and particularly *unemployment of the kind of worker for which demand in the rest of society is rapidly disappearing*. . . .



"Mechanization is caused primarily by rising wage rates—not necessarily just the change in the current year, but during the preceding decade. Mechanization is an expensive process. It involves heavy capitalization. Farmers make such investment when it pays them to do so. The extent to which farmers will invest in labor-saving equipment is roughly proportionate to the cost of labor,

although the availability or non-availability of new equipment and technology is an important supplementary factor.

"The extent to which farmers have been substituting capital for labor is indicated by the fact that average annual employment of hired farm workers has declined from 3.2 million in 1930 to 1.8 million in 1963, despite the fact that total farm production during this period has nearly doubled."[17]

Discussion between members of the panel* and the witness brought out a belief on the part of economists that many other factors contribute to the development of mechanization, although availability and price of labor are important. It is certainly true that over-all income levels are depressed by underemployment and unemployment as well as by low hourly wages. The average number of days worked by all farm workers in 1962 was 137, and by migrants, 116.

"The number of jobs in agriculture will continue to decline," according to a Department of Labor specialist. But "the need for skilled workers will continue to rise." Peak employment of interstate and intrastate migrants declined more than 38,000 and average monthly employment of migrants dropped almost 12,000 in 1963, he reported.[16]

Living Conditions

Wages are basic, but housing runs a close second as an explanation for the seeming scarcity of farm workers despite the presence of thousands of unemployed workers within a reasonable distance.

Highway 99 up the lushly irrigated California Central Valley has aptly been termed "the longest slum in the world." A 1962 study made for the Governor's Advisory Committee on Housing singled out six representative (not extreme) communities for study:

"Fewer than 20 per cent of the farm worker families covered in our study live in dwellings which could be considered adequate by present standards of health, safety and comfort. Sixty-three per cent of the dwelling units occupied by general field workers were dilapidated or deteriorated. For 33 per cent of the dwelling units occupied by general field workers, the only toilet facilities were pit privies. Thirty per cent of the dwellings had no bathing facilities, and 25 per cent lacked even so basic a necessity as a kitchen sink with running water."[18]

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* Members of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor or their substitutes who served as members of the panel at the hearings included: Dr. Frank P. Graham, the Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J., Louis H. Bean, Murray Comarow, the Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch, Dr. John A. Mackay, Daniel H. Pollitt, Norman Thomas, and Josephine Wilkins.

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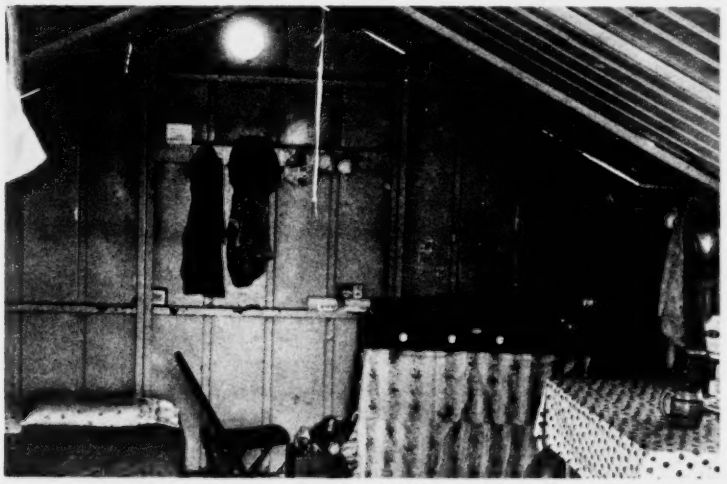
Seventy per cent of these California workers live on the fringes of towns and cities and in rural communities; they find most of their work near home and move to other parts of the state only during the slack season. They are not, as is commonly thought, migrants. And their housing is not a subsidiary part of labor-management relations but a part of the general low-income housing problem.



A statement from the director of the Kings-Tulare Migrant Ministry was accompanied by photographs of government-owned housing (Woodville Camp and Cabins) in incredibly poor condition: garbage cans overflowing; pipes leaking; sinks needed; outside faucets in need of repair; roofs leaking like a sieve.[19]

Similarly in Texas, thousands of migrants live on the outskirts, in grey areas of great cities like San Antonio, no longer a part of the country and still not quite part of the city, unreached by either rural or urban renewal.

LABOR STANDARDS AND LABOR SHORTAGES

Foreign Workers and the Termination of Public Law 78

Both the question of wages and of availability of labor—scarcity or surplus—came up repeatedly when the discussion involved foreign-labor importation programs.

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The largest labor-importation program—that of Mexican "bracero" workers—was initiated during the labor-shortage days of the Korean war as an emergency program. As Public Law 78, it was continuously extended because of the vigorous support of certain farm-employer groups, and despite the opposition of workers, organized labor, civic and religious groups, and family-farmer organizations, throughout the years up until 1964 when it is again scheduled to expire. [The law terminated December 31, 1964.] As many as half a million workers have entered from Mexico during a single year; in 1963 the number declined to 186,900, 110,823 of them in California.[20]

In addition to the Mexicans, farm workers enter the United States from the British West Indies, the Philippines, Japan, Canada and Spain. The second largest program is that of the British West Indians, and as the number of Mexicans has been dropping, the proportion of British West Indians has been going up.

A grower representative explained that the growers would have preferred to keep the labor-importation programs operative.

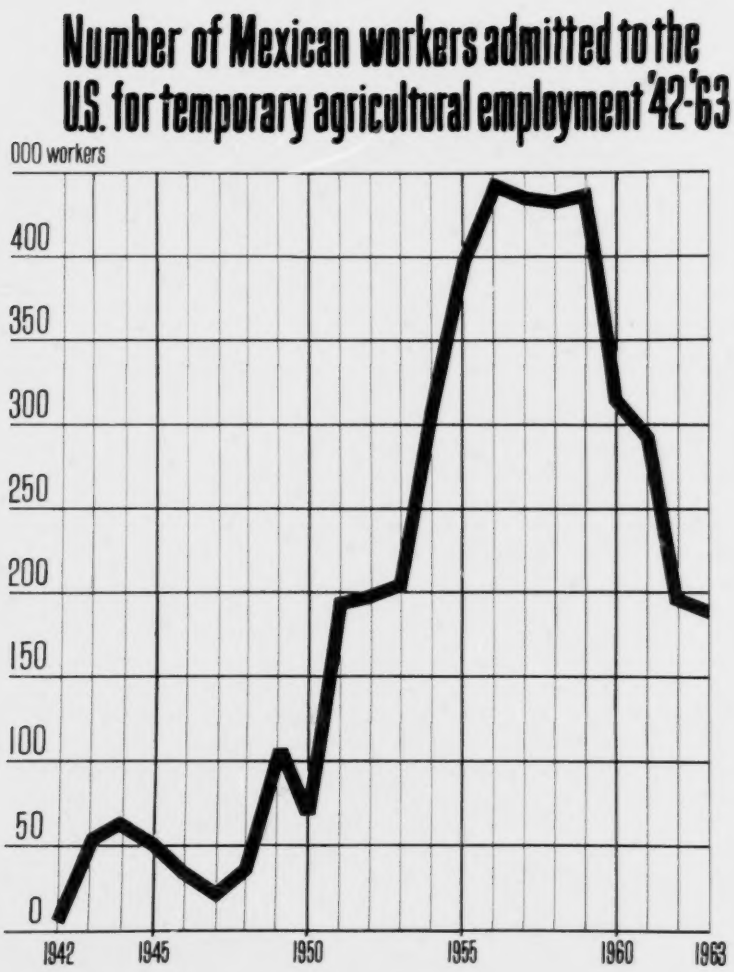
"The fact that California agriculture decided to reject any effort at an extension of Public Law 78 at no time indicated a disenchantment with the bracero program." He reported that growers were trying to fill an estimated 60,000-70,000 gap by looking for workers from southern states and Puerto Rico to replace the braceros.[21]

California citizen groups protested that there were some 400,000 unemployed in the state, many of them former farm workers who should have preference when an increased labor force was needed.

Citizens for Farm Labor suggested: "There is only one way to find out how many Californians will do farm work and that is to let the mechanisms of the labor marketplace operate. If there is a 'shortage' of workers under existing conditions—$1.00 an hour, 134 days of work a year, no fringe benefits, no unemployment insurance, no field sanitation, no worker representation, etc.—the only step is to change the terms which are offered."[22]

Adverse Effect on Wages

The adverse effect of employment of foreign workers on the wages of domestic workers has been documented many times. In 1960, the House Agriculture Committee Minority Report on Public Law 78 stated that "In nearly 7 out of 10 cases farm wages in these bracero-using areas either declined or remained the same in the 6-year period, 1953 to 1959." In the asparagus fields around Stockton this year [April, 1964] 2,800 braceros were at work contrasted with 1,800 in 1963. From 1961 to 1964 the identical wages were offered to asparagus cutters, between $2.75 and $5 per hundred weight, depending on the yield of the field. This is actually a drop from 1950



[before the crop became bracero-dominated] when the rate was from $3.00 to $3.50 per hundred weight.[23]

"Grower spokesmen themselves have estimated that those California farm workers now receiving 130 days of work per year would probably be reduced to about 90 days of work annually if 40,000 families were brought into the state for seasonal farm work," the secretary-treasurer of the California Labor Federation reported.[24]

And, according to a previous witness, the growers are looking for

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60,000-70,000 workers. ". . . Throughout the bracero years," the union representative stated, "we have steadfastly maintained that the alleged shortage of California workers for agricultural employment was precisely identical to the scarcity of automobile workers that would be triggered tomorrow if the various assembly plants in this industry around the state reduced wages to $1.00 an hour while seniority rules and grievance procedures were eliminated along with fringe benefits such as paid vacations, holidays, pension plans, un-

employment insurance, health care and numerous other long-standing benefits."[25]

Labor Organization

Organized labor in California, while still increasing slowly in farm-worker membership, has turned more and more to voter registration and political action as a necessary basis of support for future economic action.

Louisiana unionists reported: "The National Agricultural Workers Union which, some of you may remember, was known by the name of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union some 30 years ago, continues. We are now a special division of the Amalgamated—and we are known as the Agricultural and Allied Workers Union No. 300. Much of my time has been spent in an effort to organize dairy workers, sugar workers, rice workers in industries allied to agriculture, and for the past year, menhaden fishermen—known as pogy boatmen—or 'sharecroppers of the sea.' We have had some success in our work. We have organized rice workers and dairy workers and won and lost NLRB elections, and have negotiated some contracts. Last fall we won 17 NLRB elections among fishermen and lost only one. We have 27 more NLRB elections scheduled between now and the end of July, and expect to win most of them."[26]

Surplus or Shortage

The Department of Labor has summarized indirectly some of the gaps in treatment of migrants in pointing out ways in which additional workers may be secured to meet any shortage that might result from termination of foreign-worker programs:

"The primary goal will be to fill local farm jobs with local workers . . . improved use of day-haul programs . . . specialized recruitment efforts aimed at attracting additional part-time workers such as youths, housewives and handicapped . . . to ensure that workers moving back and forth interstate from labor market area to labor market area are guaranteed the benefits of the wages and other job perquisites prevailing in the labor demand area . . . an upward adjustment in farm wage rates . . . stabilize farm employment and reduce some of the uncertainties . . . decent and adequate housing . . . improved transportation."[27]

The Department is confident that if farm work conditions are made competitive there will be no shortage of labor. But it cannot be so confident that there will be no shortage of work:

"There was a 41 per cent decline in the number of workers employed in farm occupations during the 1950-1960 decade and yet there was a two-thirds increase in farm output per man hour. One and a half million nonwhite workers alone left the rural South and migrated to the large manufacturing states in the Northeast and Northcentral regions and there was a decline of fully one-third the number of workers 20-29 living in the rural areas. These developments are continuing in the years of the sixties, if not accelerating.

New Skills Needed

"Two points arise. One is that modern agriculture has specific skill requirements that are going to have to be met. . . . Another fact is that thousands of workers who leave the farm labor field each year and go to the cities have to be equipped with a new way of making a living. The MDTA [Manpower Development and Training Act] and the ARA [Area Redevelopment Administration] address themselves to both of these problems. . . .

"That some 4,000 [farm] workers are being provided with new agricultural skills is of course important to those workers. But that number tends to pale in comparison with the over-all total of more than 200,000 trainees approved thus far under the two programs. . . . Only one of ten young people now growing up on farms will be making their living in agriculture during their adulthood, and this of course reflects one of the key factors in what is a severe unemployment problem today, and one which will become even worse in the future. We face the need of channeling an increasingly larger num-

ber of rural youths into non-farm occupations and helping them to adjust successfully through counseling and training."[28]

The training of 4,000 in the face of the needs of at least a million and a half—for that number migrated, untrained as they were—is sufficient reason for dissatisfaction and discouragement with the inadequacy of present government programs. It is not what they do so much as what they fail to do that must be criticized. The unnecessary waste of lives of millions is today's American tragedy.

Children

Perhaps the most depressing part of the whole farm labor picture is the fact that children, deprived through the poverty of their parents, ill-protected by law and neglected by custom, cannot escape the rut. Because the child-labor limitations of the Fair Labor Standards Act do not protect farm children outside of school hours—and because the few dollars they earn are desperately needed—some of them are working alongside of their parents. They seem to have no future outside of unskilled farm labor, for which the need is steadily decreasing.

"The condition of children of migrants is especially critical," in the words of a representative of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. "Reports show gross lack of adequate care and protection for migrant children while their parents work. The tragic plight of these children is portrayed over and over. Children too small to work the crops are taken to the field in the morning with their parents and left long hours alone in locked cars or left to play in roadways or drainage ditches. Others are left in camp sites or migrant housing areas under care of other children 9 to 12 years of age, and sometimes younger. There is little wonder that they are subject to accidents resulting in serious injury or even death. . . ."[29]

A psychiatrist engaged in a special study of southern children told the hearing:

"Child development does not occur in a vacuum of psychological 'processes' or 'stages,' but in the midst of a family which in turn exists in a world, a society which constantly exerts its varying influences upon all its families. . . . There is no comparing the unstable, disorganized social life of migrants with that of the large majority of Americans. They are separated from us by their hand-to-mouth existence, their migratory habits which deprive them from intimacy with any solid residential condition, and in the case of the majority of them, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, or Mexicans, by their racial handicaps in our country.

"There are relatively scarce historical, sociological, and anthropological studies of migrants, and there has been, to my knowledge, no clinical psychiatric study of how they endure psychologically. . . .

"The disorganized, confusing, impoverished nature of migrant living does not escape the notice of the children whose parents offer it to them as their future. There are grossly visible attitudes and symptoms in many of these children which indicate their adjustment at an early age to the restricted, isolated, yet oddly impulsive life ahead of them. . . . He [the migrant child] learns to fear and distrust much of the world which 'we' call our own. . . . He learns that there is little prompting to be had for school attendance. He most likely has many brothers and sisters, and he learns to care for them and share with them. . . . The migrant child sees a world different from ours, and learns not our lessons but his, and the result is that he grows to have a code of 'right' and 'wrong' characteristic of his experience and often incompatible with our attitudes and our experience."[30]

"No Information, No Program"

"No one knows how many migrant children there are . . ." according to a witness from the National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children. ". . . In 1960 the Children's Bureau estimated that there were 150,000 migrant children under age 14. An estimated 50,000 between 14 and 18 are counted as part of the labor force. . . . There is no way at present to determine how many migrant children enroll in our schools. In the summer of 1963 we carried out a survey to determine the status of migrant children's education in the United States. Questionnaires were sent to 130 agencies and organizations working with migrant children—including 48 state departments of education.

"Of the 36 state departments of education replying, 15 returns were incomplete. They indicated that the reason was either that they 'had no problem,' 'had no information,' or 'had no program.'

"Twenty-two states reported that migrant children did enroll in their regular school terms but only seven knew of any special program in their state to enroll the migrant child. . . . Since only three or four states had any records on migrant children it has been impossible to determine to what extent they are able to avail themselves of regular school terms.

"Rather detailed information on summer schools is available. . . . Altogether, less than 4,000 or about 2½ per cent of the estimated 150,000 migrant children were benefitted by these special schools. . . .

What Ought To Be Done

"Especially needed are:

"1. Programs for the preschool child, and in particular for the non-English-speaking one to acquaint him with the world of 'school' in which he will be expected to learn.

"2. Special curriculum materials oriented to the culture and the age level interest of the [educationally] retarded child.

"3. In-service training and orientation of teachers to the needs of the disadvantaged child.

"4. Small classes with individualized instruction on a one-to-one basis.

"5. An intensive adult education and information program with migrant parents to secure their cooperation through understanding the educational needs and rights of their children and when possible to provide additional skills for parents to enable them to move out of the migrant stream into other forms of employment.

"6. New and standardized child labor and school attendance laws with adequate provision for their consistent enforcement.

"To develop such programs will take more resources than are now potentially available in most states. It will demand that federal, state and local resources be channeled toward bringing to an end this needless waste of human resources."[31]

WELFARE—A JOINT RESPONSIBILITY

Federal Health and Insurance Plans

"In 1962, the Migrant Health Act authorized project grants to public or voluntary non-profit agencies to pay part of the cost of family health clinics, offering services to domestic agricultural migratory workers and their families, and other projects to improve their health conditions," the representative of the Health, Education, and Welfare Department reported.

"Currently, 39 projects are under way in 23 states along the migrant streams. . . . [The numbers of projects and states has continued to rise since May, 1964.]

"A study by the California state vocational rehabilitation agency among the migratory workers in the San Joaquin Valley indicated that one person in five was disabled to the point that it interfered with his capacity to work and support his family, and one-third of all the migratory disabled were unable to work at all. . . .

"The delay until 1951 of bringing farm occupations under social security has meant that many of the older aged persons and their dependents, who are among the neediest, cannot qualify for insurance benefits. . . . Under present law, hired farm workers are covered when they are paid $150 or more in cash wages by an employer during a year or work for him on 20 or more days in the year for cash pay on a time basis. Self-employed farmers are covered when their net earnings from farming are $4,000 or more in a year."[32]

Although it is understandable that an insurance system must rest on some minimum financial base, nevertheless it is again clear here that those whose need is greatest are those who are not being reached under present programs.

Michigan

A report from the Michigan Citizens' Council on Agricultural Labor described the experience of one state, which could be duplicated in most migrant-using centers. (Michigan follows California and Texas as third in the nation in number of migrants employed.)

". . . Residency was listed [according to counties] as the ever-present criteria for eligibility for health assistance with emergency listed in a few cases. . . .

"If medical treatment has been started in the home state there is almost no possibility of continuity or follow-up. The community where a person is living at a particular time is realistically where he should get the health care he needs. For the many reasons listed however—non-availability and inadequacy of medical services, inability to pay, residence laws, ignorance of where to go for aid, coupled with the migrant's fatalistic acceptance of illness, his fear and lack of understanding of our health ways—it is not often that treatment is completed in the new community. Research shows that charges for medical care and drugs are often beyond his reach and the migrant fails to have prescriptions filled or to return for follow-up treatment because of the prohibitive cost. . . .

"The Migrant Health Act of 1962 . . . is a beginning. . . . In 1963 only two projects were in operation in the State of Michigan where more than one hundred thousand migrant people were in the state. With initiative left to the individual sponsoring groups, coverage will continue to be spotty."[33]

From Texas to California

Special attention was called by a representative of the American G.I. Forum to the conditions of Mexican Americans who provide a very large proportion of the interstate migrants in the United States. Speaking of the border counties from Texas to California, he said, "I would like to emphasize . . . the over-all family income of the total population (including Spanish-speaking and other groups in the area). . . . 50 to 60 per cent of those people are earning less than $3,000 which of course is considered to be the poverty line. . . .

"We do not want to have a neglected group within the neglected group in this country."[34]

New Jersey

Community agencies as well as governmental departments are at work on health and other social problems of farm workers.

"In 1958 the New Jersey State Department of Health reoriented its Migrant Health Program toward the primary objective of obtaining community support and participation in the health services offered to agricultural migrants. . . . Evidence gathered during the existence of the Migrant Health Program indicated that the migrants as a group are faced with many complex and inter-related problems. . . . At the same time, it was apparent that local communities have, for the most part, been unable or unwilling to help solve these problems."[35]

The National Travelers Aid Association, which has long experience in working with transients, decided to experiment specifically with this need among migrants, and the State of New Jersey agreed

to supply funds for a case worker. ". . . The Association agreed to provide a mobile unit to enable the case worker to visit labor camps, hospitals, and other locations; to assure continuity of planning for migrant workers throughout the country, as they move with the harvest season, by using various offices of the Association; to promote improved social planning to meet needs; and to encourage effective relationships among all groups who serve the migrant and his family.

"In connection with the counseling services it provides, Travelers Aid will have funds for limited, direct, emergency financial assistance to migrant workers where there are no other community resources to meet the need."[36]

Cases handled by the Travelers Aid case worker included: accident, death, mental and physical illness, child abuse, old age, eviction, housing and discrimination. Three counties in southern New Jersey were chosen as the location of the project because there were no social agencies there.

Ohio

The chairman of the Migrant Labor Committee of the Consumers League of Ohio reported that the Stark County health project there was the first in the nation to be approved under the Migrant Health Act, and that Ohio led the nation with the greatest number of health clinics in operation the first year.[37]

North Carolina

Federal, state, and community cooperation resulted in two pilot projects in North Carolina, testing the belief that the problem of alleviating the hardships of migratory farm workers is not solely the responsibility of the grower or even of public agencies, but largely one of general community responsibility.

Support of federal and state agencies was secured before the projects were initiated, and existing local church-oriented groups concerned with migrants were used as a nucleus in each project, ensuring local support. Growers and other local people were drawn in, with a grower heading each community council. Each learned the resources of all the others, so that when gaps were found the means to fill them was known. The Department of Labor financed one local paid person for the initial demonstration year; then local groups assumed full responsibility.

The day-care program was expanded to include after-school care for older children. A campaign for good camp maintenance was instituted, with rewards for the best at the end of the season. A used-clothing store was established. Supervised week-end recreational and instructional centers were organized. One council enabled 25 mi-

grant children to attend school for six weeks by providing shoes, clothes, transportation, an additional teacher, and the use of a gym as a classroom.

A camp code was enacted by the state legislature, closer cooperation between the local employment service and the health department in enforcing camp standards was secured, and federal funds were made available for special health projects.

Public awareness of the migrants' contribution was one of the most positive achievements.[38]

MARGINAL FARMERS

"The decline in number of family-size farms is called by some 'inevitable,'" one witness testified. "Whether 'inevitable' or not, one wonders how much of the decline is owing to public subsidies that go to larger farms." He pinpointed the cheap labor of the bracero program; federal agricultural subsidies such as crop and acreage allotments and soil bank payments; and failure to enforce the 160-acre limitation under the Reclamation Act.[39]

The fact is that between 1950 and 1960 the number of farms in the United States dropped from 5.4 million to 3.7 million. This means that nearly a third of the people engaged in farming in 1950 have been forced to find alternative means of earning a living.[40]

The hearings obtained first-hand information about other marginal farms which may disappear in their turn unless they have help. The participants heard stories of the struggle of those who are still on the land, but do not own it, about how they barely manage to keep alive.

A Sharecropper Speaks

One witness was a widowed Mississippi sharecropper who farms twenty-two acres of cotton with the help of her six children, whose ages range from five to sixteen. Last year she made 23 bales of cotton whose value should have been between three and four thousand dollars. What she actually received was her "furnish," $25 a month for basic necessities, plus $174.92. About this arrangement, Mrs. Brown said:

". . . We never knows nothin' until the date, and then they'll just write somethin' on a piece of paper and just give it to you. . . . Doesn't matter if you made a hundred bales, if they didn't want to give you anything for it, just write that on a piece of paper and hand it over to you. You can't even argue with them 'cause you don't know anything. . . ."[41]

This sharecropper had never had any contact with a federal program: neither the extension service, nor FHA, nor surplus food.

The panel was concerned about the possibility of the witness losing the little she had in reprisal for her testimony. Then she spoke of the way white supremacy is maintained in the area:

"In case we goes to Canton to register, we gets thrown in jail trying to register. Our laws and so forth in Canton, they don't allow us to register. When we do go, so many croppers and so many people in Madison County are afraid to register because of their jobs. In other words, if you do go register they want to know what are you occupation, what are you here for, what you want to register for? 'We're not treating y'all all right?' 'Y'all not satisfied with what we done?' No, we couldn't be, 'cause we don't have a right. If we could just get all the Negroes in Madison County, we could go ahead on with civil rights. But without that, I don't see. . . ."[41]

A Georgia Farmer

An even more direct relationship between farm problems and civil rights turned up in Georgia. A Southwest Georgia farmer reported on the Farmers Home Administration. ". . . For two years we had a successful relation. My obligation to the FHA was paid, and even in the third year when I was getting another job besides farming, I had been approved for a loan. In 1962 when the civil rights movement developed in Albany and trickled down into Lee County,

which is adjoining, I again applied for a loan and I was not able to get this loan." Character and other reasons were cited by the local agency which had changed its attitude toward the applicant. The farmer felt that it was not the agent's intention that his loan not be renewed but that of the local committee, and he pointed out that "there are no Negroes on these committees."[42]

Asked by panel members whether he had been arrested or involved in anything of a nature that might lead to the judgment of bad moral character, he replied:

"I was not arrested for trespassing or any of the things that people were arrested for. I was president of the local PTA that protested the permanent expulsion of a student for writing a theme on the needs of the school and placing it on the bulletin board."[43]

In many cases families such as those of the Mississippi sharecropper and the Georgia farmer, receiving no federal help and unable to continue to make a precarious living on their farms, have been driven into the migrant stream, even more unreliable as a source of livelihood and more unstable in its condition of life.

From Farm to City

Others, forced off the land, have sought the cities, some, without training, to swell the ranks of the unemployed; a few with training from their military service which gave them courage to make the break. The hearings were told of two such families who came to New Orleans from farms only thirty miles apart in Mississippi and whose families scattered in much the same way.

". . . It was the army that did it . . . I mean getting my trade . . . my electrician's training gave me the push to come here. . . . One of my brothers is still home with my folks and there ain't much they're getting out of the farm to keep them but barely alive; and another's in Mobile and he ain't doing much of anything so far as we can hear. I think he works on the docks there when he can; but he's got no skill is the trouble . . . and we have a brother in Florida who works on farms there. He stays there most of the year, and they leave in the summer and do some picking North, and then they come back. It's better than no work at all. . . . No, I think they'd rather be right where we are to tell the truth. They came here before we did . . . so he didn't get a job, and then he either had to stay on relief or leave, so they just packed up and went back to the farm [their father's small farm in Mississippi] and then I guess he had to leave too, like we all do . . . so that's how he come upon Florida."

The second family—

"We just couldn't stay on the farm no longer. My daddy's still there, but there wasn't room for us, so we had to leave or we would have been taking our mother's food and bringing nothing in. . . . I

mean you can grow some food, but not enough to keep you fed all year, and there's no money for anything else. . . . So we left one by one. . . . I went to New Orleans because I'd learned how to be an auto mechanic in the service. So I figured I could always get me a job there. . . . My brother didn't have nothing he could do but farm and he figured he could go to Florida and get a living from that. . . . We had some cousins do that a few years back, so he knew to go to them."[43]

Tragically, one of these families is that of the little girl who pioneered school desegregation in the face of howling mobs in New Orleans; the other withdrew his child from the same school in protest against desegregation. But who could tell from the life stories of the two which was the Negro and which the white?

FEDERAL AID AND ITS LIMITATIONS

Many federal programs and agencies are concerned with the people on the land. The Department of Agriculture, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare all sent representatives to the hearings to discuss their work and to listen to the people at the other end. The aid programs presented by the Department of Agriculture included: the Federal Extension Service, the Farmers Home Administration, the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, and the Farmer Cooperative Service. In brief, what all of them are able to offer is information, education, and credit.

But a basic problem was raised by a witness from Mississippi:

"It seems to me that one of the problems is that there's a bewildering array of agencies that people have to face. We've tried to study them and how they operate, how they're supposed to operate, and it's very difficult for us, some of us who have had so-called higher education, to understand how they operate. It seems to me it's impossible for Negro sharecroppers and farmers and poor people who haven't an education. . . .

"Now, it seems to me that the country produces enough food to feed everybody, but yet there are people, particularly in the plantation areas of Mississippi, who go hungry every year. . . . Ten per cent of the people, in the Delta particularly, are put out of work, 10 per cent more each year. This is predictable. The people who are working aren't making enough money, as Mrs. Brown testified, even to feed themselves and their families. . . .

"People who are tied up on plantations, who are unable to read and write, who have no recourse at all to anyone they can go to for

any form of justice, who are unable to register to vote—are really living in a system of slavery. They have no way even to make known what their plight is. . . .

"Run by White People"

"There are some surplus food commodity programs. It's a local option program that depends on each county to institute it. Again, it seems to me that the whole program is simply designed to perpetuate a system of white people handing out a dole to Negroes. I mean the program is run by white people. The very act of going up to the commodity house and standing in line, and having to be subjected to whatever is the whim of the local white person, is an act, it seems to me, of degradation for the Negroes. There are no Negroes who participate at any level in the decisions about that program, in the giving out of food or anything like that. It seems to me that the whole system is inhuman the way it is set up now."[44]

Some agencies, although not all, have been making progress in ending the traditionally discriminatory nature of their programs. Such change is long overdue, and the condition of Southern rural Negroes has been deteriorating. The median income of Negro farm families was 52 per cent as high as that of Southern white farm families in 1949, but only 45 per cent as high in 1959.[45]

Farmers Home Administration

The Farmers Home Administration in the Department of Agriculture reported that within the past three years it had begun to take steps toward rectifying conditions caused by discriminatory practices.

"In 1963 alone FHA named 53 rural county Negro leaders to the local citizen committees which assist in administering our loan programs among both white and Negro borrowers. . . .

"In seven states during the year, outstanding Negro civic leaders also were appointed to state FHA committees.

"One-third of the professional Negro workers now on the agency's rolls were employed since 1961. . . .

"In the fiscal year 1963, FHA made 11,000 loans to Negro borrowers. This was a 50 per cent increase over the number of loans for fiscal year 1960."

The varied functions of the Farmers Home Administration illustrate how federal programs can help:

"We may improve the lives of low-income families by supplying the credit they need to improve their farming, buy additional farm land, build a new farm home and live better in the home.

"But we may also reach this goal by making a grant to help an old lady put some siding on her house;

"—Counseling the bright son of one of our borrowers about how he can finance a college education;

"—Financing a community water system for some Negro families who all their lives have used cistern and shallow wells;

"—Lending money to a part-time farmer for some beef cows that will bring in some badly needed extra money;

"—Guaranteeing a bank loan to build a neat, clean, and sanitary housing unit for migrant worker families."

Not All Can Benefit

But the FHA itself knows that its resources are too limited:

". . . A loan program, even one as flexible and beneficial as that of FHA, is not adapted to the needs and problems of the very lowest income group of farm families. . . . These families have no assets. They have no debt-paying ability. They are desperately in need of guidance and advice in farm and home management.

"Some 500,000 or more farm families are in this situation. The overwhelming majority of them are not going anywhere. They are headed by persons with little, if any, education, persons who are well along in years, persons who in many cases have some type of handicap that rules them out of the job market. It is simply irrelevant to discuss their futures in terms of retraining and movement to urban centers for jobs."[46]

Again, those whose need is the greatest are those who are not being reached.

"Traditionally, the Extension Service has been concerned with helping rural people solve their problems and improve their lot with special attention to the family farm operation," the hearing was told. "Attention is focused on the plight of the small subsistence farm operators and their families who have been by-passed by the technological revolution and elect to remain on the land either by choice or because of little opportunity to better themselves elsewhere. Without sufficient capital and credit resources and the necessary management skills to take advantage of modern agricultural technology, marginal farm families slip further and further into debt and despair. . . ." The Extension Service can help some:

"Often it involves training to manage a new crop or livestock enterprise. For example, in Phillips County, Arkansas, there was a need for introducing a new enterprise for supplementing the meager income of a large number of small subsistence cotton farmers. In 1960, the Extension Service contacted vegetable processors and established a market for truck crops. In 1963, 137 low-income families received $16,000 from okra and 78 low-income families sold $8,000 worth of cucumbers. Thirty families this year are producing Irish potatoes for chipping purposes as a result of last year's Exten-

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Distribution of Total and Negro Employees, By Grade, March 1961, June 1962, June 1963

Grade Category	1961[1]			1962[2]			1963[3]		
	Total Employees	*Negro Number*	*Percent of Total*	*Total Employees*	*Negro Number*	*Percent of Total*	*Total Employees*	*Negro Number*	*Percent of Total*
Total Class. Act . .	69,758	2,072	2.97	78,353	2,264	2.89	79,821	2,306	2.89
GS-1 thru 4	20,274	1,311	6.46	24,222	1,331	5.49	23,381	1,289	5.51
GS-5 thru 8	22,426	609	2.72	25,548	746	2.92	26,316	820	3.12
GS-9 thru 11	18,639	137	0.74	18,730	141	0.75	19,492	144	0.74
GS-12 thru 18	8,417	15	0.18	9,853	46	0.47	10,632	53	0.50

[1] a. As of March 15, 1961
b. Includes full-time and part-time employees
c. Includes employees in all geographic locations
d. Includes employees under Classification Act only

[2] a. As of June 30, 1962
b. Includes full-time employees only
c. Excludes employees in Alaska, Hawaii and Puerto Rico
d. Includes employees under Classification Act only

[3] a. As of June 30, 1963
b. Includes full-time employees only
c. Excludes employees in Alaska, Hawaii and Puerto Rico
d. Includes employees under Classification Act only

sion demonstrations with this crop. These families are now averaging $1,200 net per year from the new crops. Some of them now report they are approaching the time when they can operate without borrowing money.

". . . The Extension home economists join forces with the agricultural agents in working with underprivileged rural families. . . . It might begin with help in remodeling used clothing so the children can wear them to school again with pride. It might be instruction in better preparation of donated food. . . . It might be help in improvising storage. . . . Some counties are now conducting meaningful vocational programs to help youth prepare for job opportunities created by expanding tourism and community services. . . ."[47]

There are Extension offices in more than 3,000 counties in the United States with a total staff of a little over 15,000. But the Extension Service appears to lag behind the others in rectifying discrimination in employment. A study of nine South Carolina counties over a three-year period, published in December, 1962, by the Southern Regional Council, documented this lag in part. In all but one county Negroes comprised more than 50 per cent of the population. Each county had full staffs of white Extension Service personnel, but there were only five Negro Extension agents and six Negro women home demonstration agents in all nine counties. Three counties had no Negro 4-H club members at all. Negro Extension agents were not informed of Rural Areas Development programs and were not involved in their planning, and were discouraged from attendance at nongovernmental conferences to which they were invited.[48] Similar situations were discovered in other parts of the South by representatives of the National Sharecroppers Fund.

A table of the distribution of all employees of the Department of Agriculture, included in the hearing record, shows that although the power of local committees has much to do with the continuation of discriminatory practices in programs of the Department of Agriculture, the Department itself must make stronger efforts in the areas where it controls personnel.

Cooperatives

"The trend toward greater concentration of economic power in the non-agricultural segments of our economy—and, particularly, in recent years, in those segments that sell an increasing number of necessities to farmers as well as those that buy from the farmer and process and market his products—makes it more essential than ever that the farmer's bargaining position be strengthened," the hearings were told. Cooperatives help farmers to improve their bargaining position. The Department of Agriculture has worked with cooperatives for more than 50 years.

The Department defines its responsibility as "to encourage the growth of cooperatives and through its various agencies provide research, educational and advisory services that will help to strengthen cooperatives in all appropriate activities in the interest of their members and the general welfare. . . .

"In terms of net savings, farmer cooperatives return over $300 million in cash or allocations annually to those who patronize these associations. . . . Today the total memberships in farm supply and related service cooperatives amount to over 7,100,000 and in 1961-62, the latest years for which we have figures available, the total business volume of farmer cooperatives, nationwide, was $17.2 billion. This represented a 6.3 per cent increase in the dollar volume of business over the previous year."[49]

While the Farmer Cooperative Service is undoubtedly of great assistance to many rural cooperatives, and many of the cooperatives even in the Southern states are open to all regardless of race, this is unfortunately not the whole story.

The names of Fayette and Haywood Counties, Tennessee, have been known nationally since the end of 1960, when 700 sharecroppers and tenant farmer families there received eviction notice from their employer-landlords. The landowners claimed that mechanization had made the sharecropping system uneconomical, but the U.S. Department of Justice won a suit that attributed the eviction to the Negro sharecroppers having exercised their right to vote.

But not so much is known of the ensuing years of struggle for economic survival and independence waged by these courageous marginal farmers. The hearings were given one chapter of their story.

Tennessee Farmers Organize

"On April 1, 1963, the charter for the West Tennessee Organic Vegetable Producers Cooperative was granted. A small group, primarily Negro cotton farmers, organized this cooperative to market fresh vegetables. This vegetable co-op has already encouraged a large number of the local farmers to raise more vegetables, most of which have been marketed through the existing canning factories and some on the fresh market in Memphis and other urban centers. . . .

"On January 8, 1963, and May 27, 1963, I wrote the Farmer Cooperative Service, USDA, Washington, D. C., requesting literature and advisory assistance from an FCS fieldman," a report from a National Sharecroppers Fund representative stated. "Ample quantities of literature have been most helpful. But we have not as yet [May 19, 1964] seen the fieldman! At a time when we badly needed fieldman advisory assistance in co-op organization, growing and marketing vegetables, we received very little or none from the Haywood County Extension Director or the Farmer Cooperative Service.

"West Tennessee Negro farmers have faithfully supported the Tennessee Farmers Cooperative since their beginning. Feed, seed, fertilizer, etc., have been purchased, at a saving, from these co-ops. However, Negro farmers today are consistently denied any say in the management of these cooperative institutions. An important co-op principle, 'one member, one vote' is not true today in the South. I have close contact with the Tennessee Farmers Cooperatives in Haywood, Fayette, Hardeman, Lauderdale, and Tipton counties and I know that in these West Tennessee counties no Negro American can attend the annual business meeting, where each member is supposed to exercise his 'voice and vote' in the management of his cooperative. . . .

"More and more of our people now realize their rights and responsibilities, and are acting constructively to organize a petroleum cooperative, open to all people of good will, which can render a much needed service and save money for its members and patrons."[50]

A farmer who owns $500 worth of non-voting preferred stock was cited to demonstrate one way in which Negroes are deprived of the right to participate democratically. According to the NSF representative, one co-op official explained, "We just don't tell them about common stock."[50]

South Carolina Agrees

That problems exist even when there are people working full-time to help farmers to help themselves is borne out by the report of the South Carolina representative of the National Sharecroppers Fund:

"It has been our main desire to get the ARA program to work effectively for all the people for whom it has been designed; to get the Manpower Development and Training Act to provide adequate training programs; to get FHA loans for people who have been improperly denied by oversight or haste; to get the Extension Service to be of more help to small farmers; to get the Welfare Department to distribute surplus food for needy families and establish Day-Care Services for children on a state-wide basis."[51]

Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service

"Commodity crop-adjustment programs were the first of the measures provided by Congress in the fight against rural poverty . . . for it had been proved previously that farm prices could not be protected where supplies were unlimited," an ASCS representative testified.

"Production-adjustment and price-support programs, emergency livestock feed programs, farmer loans for farm-storage and drying equipment, acreage diversion programs and the Agricultural Con-

servation Program—all are tailored to the needs of the low-income farmers as well as the larger producers. . . .

"Some 70 per cent of all cotton farms have an acreage allotment of 15 acres or less. Nearly 60 per cent have 10 acres or less and under the law are exempt from having to make any downward adjustment in their cotton production. . . . There are approximately 500,000 farms growing tobacco in this country, and the average tobacco acreage per farm is about two acres. For flue-cured and burley tobacco (90 per cent of the total) more than one-third of the farms have allotments of one acre or less; about 55 per cent have allotments of two acres or less. . . . In the case of wheat . . . more than a million farms have allotments of less than 15 acres, and these farms represent 67 per cent of all wheat allotment farms. . . .

"These price supports enable the small farmer to plan his operation with a certain security. He knows that he can put his crop under loan at harvest and wait to market it until prices and supplies are in more favorable balance. He knows in advance that the price of his crop will be at a certain level . . . and he can count in advance on a certain level of income unless his crop fails or his livestock die." Even then, some programs have crop-loss protection. "Without commodity programs, realized net farm income would decline between 40 and 50 per cent. Even the producers of non-supported commodities would be seriously affected."[52]

Large Producers Benefit

A footnote must be added, however, that even if the agency sees its work as benefitting many more small farmers than large, from outside looking in it appears that the large producers benefit disproportionately.

About 652,000 small farmers in the United States with cotton allotments of ten acres or less shared subsidies of approximately $40 million in 1961. This breaks down to $63 per farm ($55 in the Southeast), and indeed many small farmers have just about five dollars a month added to their income by subsidy payments.

On the other hand, in 1961 the 322 farmers with 1,000 acres or more under the cotton allotment program received a total subsidy of $36 million—almost as much as all the 652,000 small farmers put together. This averages out to $113,657 for each of the 322 farmers and obviously means a fortune for many.[53]

Regardless of the assets and limitations of these programs, it is clear that the problem of rural areas is much more than a farm problem. It is also a problem of underemployment and unemployment and a problem of renewing whole areas so that a viable economy can be maintained and adequately skilled people can support themselves in dignity and comfort.

The federal government has recognized this in the Area Redevelopment Act, the Rural Areas Development program, and the Manpower Development and Training Act. The hearings were told of them by the ARA Training Coordinator:

"In 1961, the concern of Congress and the President regarding the persistent unemployment and underemployment in many areas of our country, and a determination to do something about it, brought into being the Area Redevelopment Act. The Act stipulated that those areas which have high unemployment, above the national average, or underemployment shall be designated as distressed and be given special assistance.

"The Area Redevelopment Administration was given four basic tools with which to help the communities so designated:

1. Loans to help business establish or expand in these areas, so that new jobs will be made available.
2. Loans or grants to help communities finance the public facilities or necessary industrial parks to attract industry and commerce—again, in order to increase employment opportunities.
3. Technical assistance to bring consultant and engineering specialists into an area to help evaluate natural resources of the community and plan better use of its physical and human resources.
4. And last but not least, programs to retrain jobless workers to equip them with new skills; trainees are paid a subsistence allowance during training to make it possible for them to stay in training and thus equip themselves for employment.

"The Area Redevelopment program is a community-based program. The community must want to participate and must organize to do so. (Technically, about 1,100 areas have been eligible, and to date about 1,000 have fulfilled the legal requirement of community organization.) The Act requires that a community analyze its problems, evaluate its manpower situation, its physical resources, and make a plan for its economic future, called the Overall Economic Development Plan. When a community does this, it is eligible for ARA assistance. . . .

"In rural areas over 200 loan projects have been approved at an investment of approximately $100 million, creating about 25,000 jobs. These were loans to private industry, repayable with interest to the Government. In our program of loans and grants to communities an additional 94 projects, totalling $50 million, were approved in rural areas, which enabled these communities to build such necessary facilities as access roads, sewage, water, port clearance, industrial parks, etc., and created approximately 17,000 jobs. Our Accelerated Public Works Program approved over 4,400 projects in

rural areas, producing some 75,000 man-years in employment. These APW projects produced hospital and health facilities, recreation facilities, water resources, etc. Almost half of ARA's efforts have been in the ural areas, and as the above figures indicate some impact has been made, some communities have really regained economic health. Needless to say, we have only made a beginning and much more needs to be done.

"And now for training and retraining. Important as economic development is, and we cannot over-emphasize that it is basic in any campaign to alleviate unemployment or underemployment, we must also bear in mind that training and retraining of the unemployed are absolutely essential if the present unemployed or underemployed are to be given a chance at new or existing jobs. . . . In the last three years ARA's training program has approved over 800 projects for 38,000 trainees. Over 70 per cent of those who completed training have been placed. Among these have been Indians on reservations, Spanish-speaking Americans who do not speak English, unemployed who were illiterates, who had to be taught basic reading and writing as well as vocational skills, migratory workers whose sole work experience was harvesting but who nevertheless were taught to handle machinery so that they could get year-round employment.

"ARA has approved several hundred migrant-worker training classes in various parts of the country. As of today over 3,000 farm and migrant workers have been trained in agricultural pursuits alone, making them eligible for year-round employment instead of the sporadic under-subsistence living of the past. Many agricultural workers were trained for industrial jobs which they are filling very ably. . . .

"ARA training has suffered under the serious handicaps of 16 weeks limitation and a small budget of $41½ million for training. . . . We hope that these provisions will be improved when our new legislation is considered by the next Congress. . . .

"Our experience has proven that anyone can be taught a skill, that no one who wants a job or desires to learn a trade is unemployable, that men and women have needlessly been branded unemployable and excluded from training when all they needed was some additional, special effort to equip them to reenter the labor market."[34]

Vocational Education

A report on vocational education showed that at present there are vocational agricultural programs in about ten thousand communities. Some states are retraining their vocational agricultural teachers under provisions of new legislation. A trend is developing toward two-year post high school programs in the technical aspects of agriculture.

"If a local educational agency can't or won't provide an adequate training opportunity, the state may move in and conduct it. . . . If the state does not act or chooses not to, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare may step in, and presently we are negotiating with institutions directly to conduct training under direct contact with the Secretary in these states . . .," a representative of HEW stated.[55]

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN RURAL AREAS

There are whole areas of the country in which the economy is so bankrupt and living standards so miserable that government aid through social security is actually a floor under potential collapse.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare reported some of the ways in which it can help in rural areas at the same time that it illustrated some of the disadvantages of rural people:

"The problem of health care of older persons is one of the most crucial among the farm and rural population. Farm people ordinarily are not members of groups provided with group health insurance such as that available to some workers employed by urban employers. . . . Further, farm people with the handicap of low per capita income are less likely than urban residents to afford any type of health insurance. Aged farm residents are only about half as likely as aged urban residents to have any kind of health insurance. Since almost all presently employed farmers and farm workers who depend on farm earnings for a livelihood are now under the social security program (see p. 11 for some of the difficulties involved), hospitalization insurance for the aged under social security would be a significant addition to the security of farm people in their retirement years. . . .

"The disabled person living in a rural area is eligible for vocational rehabilitation services to restore him to productive work on the same basis as any other disabled person. State vocational rehabilitation agencies, including the agencies serving the blind, have many resources for meeting the problems of the low-income in rural areas. They can help to establish disabled people in farming and other rural jobs by providing livestock, farm equipment, initial stocks, training, and other needed services for improving their employability. They can help to establish and supervise small business enterprises including agricultural activities for those persons unable to operate their own enterprises without supervision. . . .

"In 1960 it was estimated that about 10 per cent of the rehabilitants were employed in agricultural jobs."[56]

It seems obvious that greater efforts must be made to make rural people aware of these valuable services.

THE OLD AND THE YOUNG

"The highest recipient rates for old-age assistance are found in the South, extending from Georgia to Texas and north into eastern Kentucky and to Arkansas, Missouri and Oklahoma. . . . High rates for aid to families with dependent children are scattered more generally through the South, extending through the Appalachian region, and in the Southwest, from New Mexico to California. . . . There are two major areas of heavy concentration of children receiving aid—the central parts of largest cities, and the rural sections of the poorer States.

"Recipients of old age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to the permanently and totally disabled, are much more likely to be found in non-metropolitan than in metropolitan areas. . . .

"In summary, relatively heavy concentrations of public assistance recipients are located in the rural counties of low-income States, and the need for public assistance is greatest in those places in which the fiscal ability of the State or local government to raise funds to match federal funds for public assistance is lowest. . . .

"The Social Security Act permits the States to deny old-age assistance to a needy aged person who has not lived in the State for five years out of the last nine years before application. . . . Where

the State imposes residence requirements of more than one year, the hardship may be especially severe. . . .

"There are proportionately fewer physicians, dentists, nurses, and other health professionals to serve people in rural areas. . . . However, through the Community Health Services and Facilities Act of 1961, nine demonstrations in rural communities are being aided at a total cost of $300,000. These programs include rural public health nursing, homemaker and home nursing services, and comprehensive out-of-hospital care. Nearly one-third of the new hospitals being constructed with aid under the Hill-Burton Act are in rural areas."[56]

The representative of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor well summarized the limitations of governmental programs in comparison with needs:

"Too Little, Too Late"

". . . Even where the Federal programs appear to be well conceived and designed, they are largely inadequate in scale. In too many instances, they are fragmented by State agencies which do have veto power over uses of Federal funds or by those which are lacking leadership and coordination from Washington. They are not only admittedly too late, but they provide too little. There are not enough training possibilities, for example. The housing provisions do not envision enough dwelling units, nor enough credit, nor are the interest rates low enough. . . .

"But the main goal of Government must be more than relief of the symptoms of poverty for family heads. The situation calls for more than aspirin."[57]

FAMILY FARMERS vs. CORPORATE GIANTS

The witness of the National Farmers Union described the family farm:

". . . A family farm is a socio-economic institution in which the capital, labor, and management of the farm is organized toward the production of food and fiber for the benefit of the family and society. The land is owned or held in other forms of secure tenure by the family living on the farm. The farm is managed by the family. Most of the physical work is done by members of the family. . . . Ideally the operator's family realizes from the farm an income fully adequate for the family's support. . . .

"The family farm differs from the very large industrial farms

which are described as an agri-business in two basic ways. The former does not depend upon hired hands for most of the labor as does the latter; the former is a family enterprise, the latter is a business divorced from a particular family and often financed by outside capital."[58]

All the causes for the decrease in the number of farms, and their relative importance, are not clearly understood, but recently it has become evident that not least among the reasons is the control exercised by distributive giants who serve as middlemen between the producing farmer and the consuming public. Because this process either has gone further or is easier to see in the meat industry, a perhaps disproportionate amount of space has been given to it here, in order to clarify a problem which also affects many others. "Don't forget the dairy, don't forget the bakers, don't forget the watermelon growers in the Carolinas, don't forget the truck farms in Southern California . . . ,"[59] were the cries heard by Senator Gale McGee when he suggested an investigation.

"Moving Downward"

The representative of the National Grange told the hearings:

"I'm concerned about the people who are moving from being self-sufficient commercial farm operators downward on the economic ladder into the group of people that now are no longer self-employed but are the unemployed or the employable-off-the-land. Whether this is the result of large-scale agriculture or not, the fact is that we've sent about a third of our farm population off the land in the last ten years and the unemployment in our national life today is almost the exact equivalent of the number of people that have left farm employment.

". . . Capital costs require constant and increased production in relationship to declining unit returns for agriculture. . . . Probably no place does this show up better than in beef where we've seen this movement towards the industrial-type feed lots of 10,000 to 50,000 cattle at the same time. There's just so much invested in this that these men can't go out of production, despite the fact that they're producing a surplus for a market that simply does not exist. The only obvious answer to this, or the final result of this, is a continuing decline in net earnings.

"This squeezes the small or the family commercial farmer out first, or the tenant farmer, because he doesn't have the capital reserves to stand a prolonged loss. I heard this morning about a beef farmer who said he lost $30,000 last year in beef in Nebraska and somebody said, 'Well, you could afford it.' He said, 'Yes, I could, but I had two neighbors that couldn't and these young farmers are both bankrupt.' . . .

"Concentration of Power"

"The thing that bothers us is a pricing policy and a legislative policy that lends itself to the increasing concentration of productive power in the hands of fewer and fewer people. Until we devise ways and means of seeing that this is not supported by government policy, then we're going to have a continuing problem of not only migratory laborers but . . . moving our farm people into the industrial complexes, not because this is an alternate choice, but we're going to be forcing them . . . to make their choice as a result of farm bankruptcy. We're having increasing numbers of those, some *27 per cent increase in the number of foreclosures of farm mortgages this year over the same period last year* [ital. ours]. Already agriculture is in a disastrous condition income-wise generally, and especially in terms of the commercial family farmers, and this has to be reflected to some extent in the wages that are paid to the single hired man who works on the farm that just employs a man or two."[60]

To understand what is happening, one must understand the distributive process: ". . . The supermarket is a phenomenon of our time, a phenomenon that has largely blossomed in the years since World War II," Senator McGee explained. "To illustrate it as quickly as possible, suffice it to say that the food chains now do a $70 billion a year business that involves employment in excess of 11 million jobs; that whereas the local food store used to handle 600 or 700 items, the typical supermarket today handles 6,000 items; that an increasingly smaller number of chains are handling more and more of the over-all food marketing business in our land.

"This is the emergence of an entirely new concept of economic pyramiding, and it's one that we ought to know a great deal more about than we do at the present time [ital ours]. One hundred forty thousand neighborhood grocery stores have gone out of business in this intervening interval of time. At the present moment, any number of feed lot operations are on the brink of closing their doors; some already have. Again, the impact of an entirely new concept in food marketing, one that was not with us many years ago. . . .

Chain Stores as Purchasers

"The food chains, it has been charged by some, have taken advantage of an unequal bargaining position of the producers of goods along the line, particularly the producers of perishables, namely meats and vegetables. The charge has been made that, because of the interest in the great chains in operating on as low a margin as possible for competitive reasons, they have found it difficult to exact the most favorable terms from some of the large suppliers of merchandise like Procter and Gamble or Homer and Jethro or some of those who are in a strong bargaining position, and therefore seek to

make up their differences for operating room upon those who have a less strong bargaining position than H. J. Heinz may have, or Kellogg may have, and that as a consequence, we have witnessed the emergence of new marketing practices among the producers of livestock and fresh foods that may hold out to them the same fate that has already been met by the 140,000 small grocery stores that are now out of business. . . .

"Perhaps the wave of the future is the large corporate farm with whatever bargaining alternatives it might acquire. But rather than stumble into that, we want to know consciously whether that's the direction we ought to go. Maybe the feed lot operator is a luxury we can't afford. Maybe he's supposed to be exterminated. If that were to be the case, we would like to have a hard look at that first, rather than in the wake of his own disastrous passing. Perhaps there ought to be vertical integration in the food business. It may be that in the future we in our collective judgment as individuals and consumers would decide that the food chains ought to own the packing houses, ought to own the feed lots, ought to own their own ranches and raise their own cattle and that through vertical integration we would all benefit more. . . .

The Technique of Not Buying

"We want to study very closely the implications of direct buying, of contract buying, in which it is possible . . . to get around vertical integration without assuming any of the contingent risks of capital investment, of the uncertainties of markets. We want to know what the implications are of the purchasers of fresh produce simply refusing to buy. This involves no conspiracy. It involves no hotel room deals. It involves no market collusion by anybody. Simply by not buying in a given week, it is possible to bring disaster to certain economic sectors.

"For example, again, a supermarket can concentrate on any number of alternatives for its hot shots for a given week, but the cattle man from whom it chooses not to buy that week is out of business because he has no alternative market than the chain or the supplier, the purchaser to whom he has been selling. I say 'chain' rather loosely there for the reason that in some of our areas the cattle people, as a case in point, depend to the tune of 85 per cent of all their marketing on purchases from the food chains. There's a very close dependence worked out there. So close, in fact, that that dependence has dried up other alternatives that may at one time have existed for the cattle man.

"I continually talk about the cattleman now for two reasons: One, because meat represents about a third of the business of the food chains, a $70 billion business. It's the largest single area in their

merchandise. The second reason is that the plight of the cattleman has helped dramatize this new economic phenomenon in our midst in areas of our country that for so long were either asleep at the switch or indifferent to the implications of what was taking place.

An Unexplained Mark-Up

"According to the evidence submitted to my committee until now, the price paid to the producer in meats has fallen steadily since the last war and the price paid by the housewife at the other end has risen steadily in the same interval of some 17 years. If you take the year 1947 as the year in which your theoretical percentage would be 100, the producers of beef today are getting 88 per cent of 100 for what they produce. The housewife is paying 129 per cent of 100 for what she receives. That widening spread is one of those curious and quizzical questions that requires explanation."[61]

One of the reasons that we know more about what happens in the meat industry than we do elsewhere is that packing-house workers are organized by the same union which organizes agricultural processing workers and some farm workers. Thus the union has information at both ends which can supplement that of the farm organizations. (But still, nobody knows the whole story.)

Union representatives appeared at the hearing:

". . . Today fewer than 100 corporate chains enjoy at least 50 per cent of the nation's $56 billion annual food business," they testified. "The plight of the farmer is well documented for it is now fairly common knowledge that his share of the food dollar in 1963 fell to a 30-year low of 37 cents. . . .

Profit Margin Growing

"Briefly, it appears to us that the growth of the retailer's market power has been used to expand profit margins that were already considerable. This the giant retailer has done partly by increasing prices to the consumer—particularly of those items with relatively inelastic demand—but also by squeezing the margins of the food processors. . . . The nation's food processors and, in our own field of special knowledge, the nation's meatpackers, have apparently been successful in protecting their margins—but how?

"Apparently the answer is that they have been successful in cutting their costs. This cost cutting has taken a multitude of forms, among them direct buying to bypass the stockyards; contract buying and specification buying; plant closedowns; introduction of new highly advanced technology; relocation and conscious diversification of production facilities and last, but by no means least, direct wage cutting. Suffice it to say that in the meatpacking industry, these cost-cutting devices have had the effect of protecting relative

packer profit positions while at the same time depressing farmer income and eliminating thousands of jobs. . . ."[62]

Jobs Disappearing

The story of jobs automated out of existence in the packing industry has additional relevance to those who are interested in the whole scope of rural poverty. For it has been seen in the testimony that under- and unemployment is the great problem of the rural areas, and that millions of those forced off the land—whether they owned it or worked for others—have come and are coming to urban areas in search of work. The direction of migration for all this century has been toward the cities. Usually this has been because of the attraction of jobs waiting there. Today we know that city jobs for unskilled—or agriculturally trained—rural people no longer exist. But the story of how and where they disappeared, told in terms of one industry, can illustrate the national situation:

"The magnitude of the problem is gauged by the fact that between 1956 and 1963 there was a drop in the total number of workers in the meatpacking industry of something in excess of 46,000. This represents a decline of almost 20 per cent in seven years. . . . We would conservatively project that by 1970 a minimum of another 50,000 jobs will have disappeared and that more probably total employment in the industry as a whole will be down well below 140,000.

"Furthermore, these job-destroying developments have been accompanied by rapidly rising productivity in the nation's meatpacking industry and declining labor costs.

Productivity Rising

"Between 1956 and 1963, output per man hour increased by some 40 per cent, from less than 64 pounds in 1956 to 89 pounds in 1963. Average hourly earnings during the same period rose at a less rapid rate and this, when job losses are also considered, accounts for the fact that the average labor cost per pound of red meat produced declined by some 4 per cent between 1956 and 1963 (from 3.27 cents per pound to 3.14 cents). This is important for it means that *while retail meat prices rose, and the farmer's share of the meat dollar decreased, the unit labor cost of meat production at the packinghouse fell* . . . [ital. ours].

"Why . . . when a pound of beef cost 68.4 cents at retail in 1947 did the farmer get 48.2 cents of that amount whereas today, when a similar pound of beef costs 81.0 cents, he only gets 45.3 cents? Why, also, has the retailer's mark-up on this pound of beef increased from 21.8 per cent to 30.7 per cent and the packer's from 7.7 per cent to 13.3 per cent while at the same time the farmer's share has fallen from 70.5 per cent to 56.0 per cent?"[62]

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The same union furnished an example of mechanization and technological unemployment in vegetables:

". . . Regarding the installation of new machinery that is taking place in the canning industry, I would like to give you an example of what has happened [in Minnesota]," a field organizer wrote in March 11, 1964. "During the last couple of years, the company has done away with all the viner stations and now has combines that go into the field and vine the peas. This combine works about the same as a grain combine; it elevates the peas into a dump truck which hauls the peas to the factory where they are dumped into a tank that holds a truckload of peas. The tank is then lifted with a hoist onto a high platform over the conveyor and the tank has a slide door in the bottom which can be opened up, letting the peas run out onto a conveyor. . . . With this change, the 150 men at the viner stations were not only eliminated, but about 50 more were also eliminated at the factory. . . . This certainly speeds up to a great extent the process of getting the product from the field to the factory and considerably lessens the chance of any spoilage of product."[62]

The human cost of this technological progress has yet to be totaled. Evidence at the hearings showed farm workers who were still struggling for economic survival receiving smaller returns while they worked harder, and consumers, while sometimes getting better quality, always paying more. Both ends are being squeezed by the middle—a middle whose generic name turned up repeatedly in the hearings: a giant, impersonal, profit-seeking corporation.

MONOPOLY OF LAND AND WATER

Monopoly may be a relatively new development in the form of distributive corporations buying back or contracting in such a way as to control farm operations and income. It is much older in the form of a corporative attempt to control land and water—and thus independent farming—at its source. Another development since World War II is the pricing of land out of the market for potential individual (particularly young) farmers, because so much land is valued not on the basis of the potential farm income, but of non-farm uses such as expanding urban areas and recreation developments. Concentration of land ownership has grown along with its rising cost until today the nation's 100,000 biggest farms control about one-fourth of all our farmland resources. For many years now,

about one-third of all farm land has been bought by purchasers who are not farmers.[63]

Historically, federal land reclamation laws have tried to prevent monopoly control of land and water, and to protect the family farmer by the 160-acre limitation. Enacted in 1902, it provides that in federally financed irrigation projects, no one land owner may receive more than sufficient water to irrigate 160 acres, or if he has a wife, 320 acres.

The hearings received a report that implementation of the 160-acre limitation was endangered in the current San Luis project in California:

The San Luis Project

"The San Luis legislation concerns 500,000 acres of land west of the San Joaquin Valley in California," a National Farmers Union representative reported. "It is principally owned by the greatest land owners and operators in the world . . . oil companies, the Boston Ranch, and the Southern Pacific Railroad. . . . This $157 million [appropriation] pending before the committee [Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs] provides for the building of a distribution system over all this land. . . . Now our point is that unless you sign recordable contracts [agreeing to dispose of excess land] before the distribution drains and so forth are built, then the land owners will get the water in spite of anything that you can do. . . ."[64] Evasion of the excess-land provision was also attributed to the Imperial Valley and Sacramento Valley projects.

A member of the panel who had special knowledge of the Westlands Water District for which this distribution system had been planned explained more fully what was happening:

". . . One of the peculiar, maybe unique, aspects of the San Luis project is that as the canals and distribution systems are built and water is put on those acres that are eligible, water will percolate into the underground water table and those who are not eligible to receive water have that water table available to them through pumping as well as anybody else. So that if part of the district signs a recordable contract to dispose of excess lands and if others enter into valid and legal contracts for their non-excess lands, those who hold out from either arrangement are going to have practically limitless water available to them through the raising of the water table under their land. That includes, as you know every well, some very large excess land owners, including the Southern Pacific Railroad through its subsidiary which has literally, I believe, tens of thousands of acres—irrigable acres—in that district and which has publicly and repeatedly proclaimed that it will not dispose of its excess lands. . . . If it's premature to expect them to sign recordable

contracts now, isn't it premature to ask Congress for another $150 million to build an irrigation works which will put the water down there where the Southern Pacific can get at it? . . . I think the Department of the Interior is acting against the public interest in drawing up and signing a contract with the Westlands Irrigation District and presenting it to the Senate and House Interior Committees for approval."[65]

Contract Withheld

[Following the NACFL hearings, enough public concern was shown so that public hearings on the Westlands contract were held by the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the Senate; public indignation continued to mount until the Secretary of the Interior withheld his signature from the contract. It can now be hoped that a contract will be worked out that will safeguard the 160-acre limitation and make possible the development of three to four thousand family-sized farms to replace the giant corporations in the area.]

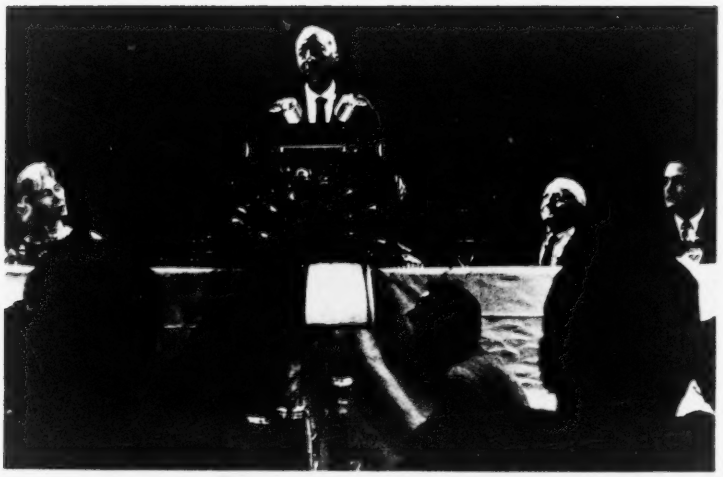
Federal Reclamation Policy

The representative of the Bureau of Reclamation answered questions put by witnesses and panel members, and described reclamation programs as a whole:

"Throughout the more than 60 years which have elapsed since the inception of the Federal Reclamation program by Act of Congess in 1902, limitations have prevailed on the acreage for which an individual could legally obtain project water for irrigation. . . . The Federal policy thus implemented has been designed to further the fundamental objectives of reclamation by promoting the family farm as a desirable type of rural life and distributing equitably and widely the benefits of the government program. . . .

"Today, irrigation water can be served under federally built works to more than eight and one-half million acres of irrigable land, distributed among more than 100 projects or major project units in the 17 Western States. . . . These 100 areas now contain about 97,000 full-time family farms, averaging 80 irrigable acres per farm in size. In addition, there are some 31,500 part-time farms averaging approximately 13 irrigable acres each. . . . Of the more than eight million acres which make up the total area to which irrigation service is available under the reclamation program, only about 3.5 per cent are held in ownership sizes which exceed those permitted by the controlling statutes.

". . . If an excess land owner who has signed one of these contracts to dispose of his lands in 10 years fails to do so, then power of attorney rests in the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary



can then sell land for and in behalf of the land owner and subject to the same terms that would have prevailed had the land owner himself sold it. . . ."

In answer to questioning by the panel, the witness agreed that if the Secretary of the Interior had authority to acquire some of these excess lands, and to break them up and resell them, it would facilitate the desired transition to family farms.

Concerning Imperial Valley, the Bureau of Reclamation representative stated, "You have selected the one district under the federal reclamation program wherein we have not enforced the federal acreage limitation. This comes about by the fact that Ray Lyman Wilbur, a former Secretary of the Interior, in 1933 issued a directive to the effect that the federal reclamation law did not apply in the circumstances prevailing with respect to construction of the All-American Canal serving the Imperial District. From that time on, no enforcement has been made. . . . I might mention here that the Department of Justice, in pleadings filed in the case of Arizona vs. California lawsuit, did express disagreement with Secretary Wilbur's ruling. . . ."[66]

Thus it became evident, despite the limited nature of the testimony before the panel (and the limited victory on the Westlands contract that came later), much remains to be done in carrying out the intent of Congress and the tradition of the country for the protection of the family farm and its values against the encroachment of land and water monopolists who are in no sense farmers, but—again—giant, impersonal corporations: railroads, banking, oil.

IN CONCLUSION

"It is difficult for America to look at her hungry and her poor and her poverty stricken," said the representative of the National Urban League. "This is what we are attempting to do here."[67]

"In no area is the need for total commitment to the war on poverty more clearly demonstrated than among the three and one-half million migrants and other farm workers—the 'excluded Americans,' " Co-chairman A. Philip Randolph told the participants in the hearings. "Handicapped by a lack of education which confines them to agricultural labor or propels them unskilled and unprotected into overburdened cities, sheltered in housing which is inadequate by any reasonable standard, undernourished and prone to disease, with incomes far below the poverty level, they are, nevertheless, excluded from virtually all labor and social welfare legislation, and far removed from most health and welfare services.

"Pressures to prevent farm workers from acquiring equality of status with other American workers, and to deny them the special measures needed to improve their working and living conditions, have been widespread and powerful. An aroused and enlightened public *can* overcome these pressures."[68]

"If we add this public hearing to the public hearing five years ago," said Co-chairman Dr. Frank P. Graham in closing the hearings, "and with the cooperation of all these citizens' groups represented here today from across this land, I think we will again make a great impact on the public opinion of America to back up men like Senator Harrison Williams. Having said that, may I express the faith and hope that this group here and what it represents will become a part of the structure and substance of man's unresting dream of building on this little planet a nobler home for the family of man. . . ."[69]

"The objective of the war against poverty," Sargent Shriver told participants in the hearing, "is to liberate 35 million Americans from the cycle of poverty, and give them the opportunity to advance. For economic reasons, for moral reasons, for human reasons—for every reason known to reasonable men—we must and will win that war."[70]

FINDINGS

An estimated 15 million of the 35 million poor are rural Americans. Half the nation's farm-operator families (1.6 million) have incomes less than $3,000. About three-fourths of the 800,000 rural families whose chief income is farm wages live below the poverty level. Of the five million rural Negroes, more than half have incomes less than $2,000. Migrant workers earn little more than $1,000 a year.

The Farm Worker

1. Farm workers are still excluded from social legislation that has benefitted other workers for more than a quarter of a century.

2. The most important from the point of view of income are: minimum wage, unemployment insurance, and the guaranteed right of collective bargaining.

3. Until the right of collective bargaining is protected legally it is almost impossible for farm workers to organize effective unions, although they are still trying.

4. The adverse effect of the continuing supply of foreign labor on domestic workers continues to be great. Despite the contemplated termination of the Mexican program at the end of this year, more braceros are being used in some areas this season than last year. In addition, temporary farm workers are being brought in under P.L. 414, the Immigration and Nationality Act.

5. Hundreds of thousands of domestic workers would be available for farm work if wages and living and working conditions were comparable to those offered by other American industries.

6. The Government of Puerto Rico has found that farm employers will accept the responsibility of guaranteed work and wages and insurance protection (which most domestic workers lack) when necessary in order to secure workers.

7. Low wages and miserable housing and other conditions are not confined to the South and West but are a problem all over the country.

8. The amount of farm work available is less each year, and increased skills are needed by those who do find work.

The Impact of Agribusiness

1. Since World War II the structure of food marketing (particularly of perishable items) has undergone a great change. The main feature of this has been the increasing predominance of huge chain stores which control both processing and distribution.

2. Concurrent with this change in the structure of food marketing has been a steady decrease in the price paid to the farmer and an increase in prices paid by the consumer. This is most easily seen in the meat industry, but it affects many others as well.

3. Not enough is known about either the causes or effects of the widening spread between prices paid to the producer and by the consumer. (The recently authorized Commission on Food Marketing, sponsored by Senator McGee, should provide the answer.)

4. One notable effect, however, of decreasing returns to farmers has been a steady drop in the number of family farms. The decline in earnings, accompanied by rising capital costs, has squeezed out many small farmers. Only highly capitalized farm enterprises can survive in a market dominated by chain stores and related corporations.

5. Cooperatives can help to counteract this domination by vast agribusiness farms both by strengthening the bargaining position of the small farmer and by reducing his costs.

6. Marginal and subsistence farmers have received the least help under existing federal aid programs, which seem to benefit large farmers disproportionately. Discrimination by local agencies and committees has made a bad situation worse.

7. The vast majority of farm workers are hired by the giant corporation farms. A major problem in the attempt to raise their wages is that when human labor is no longer cheaper than machines, farmer-employers invest in machinery to reduce their dependence on hired workers. Thus in some cases as wages go up, work opportunities drop and farm workers still suffer.

8. The 160-acre limitation in regard to use of water in federally-financed irrigation projects is not enforced in all projects and is too loosely safeguarded in others.

The Role of Government

General

1. In brief, what is offered by governmental aid programs is information, education, and credit.

2. Aid to farmers and farm workers comes not only from specific farm legislation but also through general legislation such as that on housing, education, and social security.

3. Present programs are too limited to cope adequately with the impact of the agricultural revolution on dispossessed, marginal, and untrained farmers and farm workers.

4. Present programs are also hampered and sometimes completely thwarted in their implementation by resistance of the local power structure to any change that may reduce the availability of cheap farm labor.

Department of Agriculture

1. Southern small farmers and sharecroppers reported that they had not been reached by federal aid programs including surplus-food distribution; that loans had not been renewed because of civil

rights activities; that pressure ranging from threatened loss of jobs to actual physical terror prevented many people from asking for benefits to which they are entitled.

2. One major cause of this failure has been the continuing operation of state extension services on a segregated basis. The Federal Extension Service bears primary responsibility for servicing people with information and has failed to bring adequate knowledge of federal programs to those who need them most. A basic problem is that local committees stand between people in need and governmental programs authorized by Congress to aid them. In too many places Negroes are still not represented on such committees.

3. Another serious problem is that governmental programs are too diverse and complicated for many poor rural people to understand, particularly since some cannot read and write.

Department of Labor

1. The Labor Department is working to expand recruitment of domestic workers since Public Law 78 (permitting the temporary importation of Mexican workers under contract) will be terminated this year. Attempted use of P.L. 414 (the Immigration and Nationality Act) to bring in foreign workers to meet alleged labor shortages circumvents the intention of Congress and must be prevented. [Since the hearings, it has become apparent that P.L. 414 is being used in this way.]

2. The way to attract domestic workers is to offer a better job: competitive wages, working conditions, housing, and transportation.

3. Public agencies cannot do the whole job. Farm employers must assume responsibility for securing their own workers by raising standards until they become competitive with those offered in the rest of the American economy. Local communities must welcome farm workers to share in the educational, health, and other public facilities of the community.

Department of Commerce

1. The Area Redevelopment Act (ARA) programs in rural areas of high unemployment and underemployment have stimulated about 40,000 jobs through individual loans for rural industrial development, loans and grants for community facilities, and training programs in agricultural pursuits.

2. Thousands of farm workers could find full-time jobs if they could acquire additional agricultural skills.

3. Objections raised against training of migrants—such as that they are undependable and cannot be trained—have proven untrue in practice. Demonstration projects in Hammonton, New Jersey, and Laredo, Texas, were notably successful.

4. Prejudice against upgrading Negroes is often responsible for lack of local initiative by the power structure. Training programs are just beginning to scratch the surface. More money and more freedom of action at the federal level are needed.

5. Training programs under ARA have been approved for only 2,500 persons in agricultural pursuits.

6. A major stumbling block is the requirement for local initiative in developing or approving projects.

Health, Education, and Welfare

1. HEW gives high priority to expanding educational opportunities. It is concerned with adult education and the nine million people over 25 who are illiterate, as well as with childhood education.

2. Great inadequacy of vocational opportunities across the country led to the Vocational Education Act of 1963. The new program is geared to labor-market needs. One result has been a tremendous increase in the development of area schools. Control, however, is vested in state boards of education, and the Office of Education itself cannot secure equal and non-segregated educational opportunities. [Passage of the Civil Rights Act has improved this situation.]

3. Under the Migrant Health Act, 39 projects have been initiated. [The figure was 60 as of March 1, 1965.]

4. Residence requirements present obstacles to getting public assistance for migrants.

LEGISLATION

1. The first of the bills for farm labor to be adopted, the Migrant Health Act, is in operation in 23 states [28 as of March 1, 1965].

2. Bills to provide federal registration of crew leaders [enacted into law since the hearings], day-care centers for migrant children, limitations on child labor, and a national advisory council on farm labor have passed the Senate. Child care, education, sanitary facilities, and housing measures have been incorporated into the anti-poverty bill [and have become law].

3. Senate hearings on S528 and S529, minimum wage and collective bargaining, were expected in June. [These have been deferred.]

4. Adequate implementation of legislation is as important as passage of the bills themselves; problems in social security coverage were given as an example of difficulties encountered.

PRIVATE AGENCIES

The importance of the work of private agencies, both in pressing for passage of needed legislation and in supplementary work with local communities and with farm people, was stressed.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE IN LIGHT OF THE HEARINGS

Legislation to Aid the Farm Worker and Family Farmer

1. Amendment of the Fair Labor Standards Act to bring agricultural workers within its minimum-wage provisions.

2. Amendment of the National Labor Relations Act to extend collective bargaining rights to agricultural employees.

3. Amendment of the Fair Labor Standards Act to extend regulation of child labor in commercial agriculture to periods when school is not in session.

4. Broadening of coverage for farm workers under the insurance programs of the Social Security Act.

5. Extension and expansion of the Migrant Health Act.

6. Creation of a voluntary farm employment service program under the State-Federal Employment Service to help secure fuller employment for farm workers under competitive wages and standards, and to provide a more stable supply of labor for farm employers.

7. Creation of a National Advisory Council on Migrant Labor to aid Congress, the Administration, and the public in evaluating existing programs and policies for migrant workers, and in recommending additional ones.

8. Termination of all programs providing for the temporary importation of foreign contract farm workers.

9. Extension of state unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation laws to include agricultural workers, together with the establishment of an interstate system to maintain up-to-date records of all payments made, and to pool contributions made by employers in different states.

10. Authorization for the Secretary of the Interior, in cooperation with the Secretary of Agriculture, to buy and hold land held in excess of the 160-acre limitation in areas affected by federal reclamation projects, in furtherance of its sale to potential individual family farmers, rather than simply to force its sale on the open market.

11. Restoration of the Family Farm Development Corporation provisions and funds in the Economic Opportunity Act.

Legislation to Aid the Rural Poor

1. Removal from state laws of residence restrictions governing eligibility for the public assistance programs of the Social Security Act. This may require amendment of the Act to remove the permissive maximum five out of nine years residence requirement adopted

by a number of states, and increased federal reimbursement to encourage elimination of residence requirements.

2. Passage of the Appalachia bill calling for a five-year program of much-needed highway construction and other aid for the depressed Appalachia region.

3. Extension and expansion of the Area Redevelopment Administration to bolster the economy of depressed rural areas by providing additional industry and by training unemployed and underemployed workers for available employment opportunities.

4. Enactment of a vastly increased public works program to provide additional roads, schools, hospitals, and other essential facilities for urban and rural communities, and to provide both jobs and training in rural areas.

GOVERNMENT ACTION TO AID THE FARM WORKER AND FAMILY FARMER

1. Strengthening of the Department of Labor's services to farm labor by assembling the facts essential for orderly recruitment and placing of farm workers. This should include a breakdown of job descriptions to show the skills needed in modern agriculture, a survey of wages and working conditions, a study of all aspects of employer-employee relations, and a continuing record of the number of farm jobs, when and where they are.

2. Vigorous enforcement of minimum standards for farm job placement by the Department of Labor. These would include transportation standards such as those promulgated by the Interstate Commerce Commission, housing standards such as those recommended by the President's Committee on Migratory Labor, and minimum income standards such as those periodically announced by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

3. Encouragement of the further participation of the smaller farmers—particularly Negroes—in cooperatives, to enable them to compete more equitably in producing and marketing their products.

4. Prosecution under the anti-trust laws of corporations that dominate the production, distribution, or sale of perishable products in any area to such an extent as to determine prices unilaterally.

5. Action by the Secretary of the Interior, in cooperation with the Attorney General, to compel full compliance with the 160-acre law in all federal reclamation areas.

GOVERNMENT ACTION TO AID THE RURAL POOR

1. Immediate enforcement of the Civil Rights Act (signed into law in July, 1964) to eliminate discrimination in government aid programs and to increase the number of minority group members (Mexican-Americans as well as Negroes) employed by governmental agencies or selected as local officials where these are government appointed or approved.

2. Establishment of special crash training programs in an overall effort to increase the number of minority group members employed by the Department of Agriculture.

3. Encouragement of federal initiative (if necessary by strengthening present legislation) in situations where local committees either fail to take the initiative or continue to follow a traditional discriminatory pattern; this applies particularly to aid programs through the Departments of Agriculture and of Health, Education, and Welfare, and to those under the Economic Opportunity Act which are now dependent on local initiative.

NOTES

1. The Rev. Ralph J. Duggan, Executive Assistant, Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers, also representing National Council for the Spanish Speaking.

2. Ocie Lee Smith, Louisiana Representative, National Sharecroppers Fund

3. William McClain, Local 424, Teamsters, Warehousemen, Helpers, and Production Workers Union, Independent

4. L. S. James, South Carolina Representative, National Sharecroppers Fund

5. Arnold Mayer, Legislative Representative, Amalgamated Meat Cuttters, and Butcher Workmen, AFL-CIO

6. United States Department of Labor: *Hired Farm Workers in the United States,* June, 1961; p. 6

7. Virginia Thatcher, member, Board of Directors, National Consumers League

8. Harry Rasmussen, Lemoncove, California

9. Joseph Monserrat, Director, Migration Division, Department of Labor, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico

10. Bard McAllister, Farm Labor Secretary, American Friends Service Committee, Visalia, California

11. Sister Anne Harrison, C.A., Epiphany Episcopal Church, Corcoran, California. Sister Anne submitted case histories of C.R., Negro woman aged 62, and the Hernandez family of ten as examples.

12. Hon. James Roosevelt, Member of the House of Representatives, 26th District, California

13. Hon. Harrison A. Williams, Jr., Chairman, Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor and Senator from New Jersey

14. Frederick R. Blackwell, Counsel, Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor

15. Dr. Betty Jean Patton. Department of Town and Country of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and member, Department of the Church in Town and Country, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

16. Jack Howard, Special Assistant to the Under Secretary, United States Department of Labor

17. Matt Triggs, Assistant Legislative Director, American Farm Bureau Federation

18. Quoted in Supplement B, "Housing Needs of California's Farm Workers," in testimony of Thomas L. Pitts, Secretary-Treasurer, California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO

19. David W. Havens, Director, Kings-Tulare Migrant Ministry, Visalia, California

20. United States Department of Labor: *Farm Labor Market Developments*, March, 1964

21. Edward F. Hayes, Secretary, California Growers Farm Labor Committee

22. Citizens for Farm Labor, quoted in testimony of Anne Draper

23. Anne Draper, Executive Committee Member, Citizens for Farm Labor, Berkeley, California

24. Thomas L. Pitts

25. Idem.

26. H. L. Mitchell, International Representative, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL-CIO

27. Jack Howard

28. Idem.

29. Wilbur J. Cohen, Assistant Secretary, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; statement presented by Philip H. Des Marais, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislation

30. Robert Coles, M.D., Research Psychiatrist, Harvard University Health Services, Cambridge, Mass.

31. Cassandra Stockburger, Director, National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children

32. Wilbur J. Cohen

33. Michigan Citizens' Council on Agricultural Labor: *Fact Finding Survey on Health Problems of Agricultural Workers in Michigan*, May 11, 1964

34. Rudy L. Ramos, Director, American G.I. Forum of the United States

35. Ethel W. Jacobs, Field Consultant, National Travelers Aid Association

36. Press Release, New Jersey State Department of Health, May 14, 1964

37. Bernard S. Houghton, Chairman, Migrant Labor Committee, Consumers League of Ohio

38. Thelma H. Harper, Regional Consultant, Bureau of Labor Standards; introduced by Milton Brooke, Chief, Division of State Services, Bureau of Labor Standards, United States Department of Labor

39. Dr. Paul S. Taylor, Berkeley, California

40. United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: *United States Census of Agriculture 1959*. Vol. II, General Report, Ch. I, Farms and Land in Farms; p. 19

41. Mrs. Susie Brown, Mississippi

42. James N. Mays, Georgia

43. Robert Coles, M.D.

44. Robert Moses, Co-Director, Council of Federated Organizations, Mississippi

45. James D. Cowhig and Calvin L. Beale: *Socioeconomic Differences between White and Nonwhite Farm Populations of the South*, August, 1963. Mimeo. Cited in testimony of Jac Wasserman, Project Director, National Sharecroppers Fund

46. Floyd F. Higbee, Deputy Administrator, Farmers Home Administration, United States Department of Agriculture.

47. Charles E. Bell, Jr., Director, Division of Agricultural Science, Technology, and Management, Federal Extension Service, United States Department of Agriculture

48. Southern Regional Council: *A Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina*, Special Report. Atlanta, Georgia, December, 1962. Mimeo

49. Job K. Savage, Director, Management Services Division, Farmer Cooperative Service, United States Department of Agriculture

50. Art Emery, Tennessee Representative, National Sharecroppers Fund

51. L. S. James

52. Ray Fitzgerald, Deputy Administrator, State and County Operations, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, United States Department of Agriculture
53. *Congressional Record*, October 17, 1963
54. Anne L. Gould, Training Coordinator, Area Redevelopment Administration, United States Department of Commerce
55. Walter Arnold, Director, Vocational Education, Office of Education, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
56. Wilbur J. Cohen
57. Ben Neufeld, Executive Secretary, National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor
58. Walter A. Hasty, Jr., Director, Community Development Services, National Farmers Union
59. Hon. Gale McGee, United States Senator from Wyoming
60. Harry Graham, Legislative Representative, National Grange
61. Hon. Gale McGee
62. Ralph Helstein, President, United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO; statement presented by Clay Cochran
63. Floyd F. Higbee
64. Angus McDonald, Director of Research, National Farmers Union
65. The Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J., Director, Washington Office, National Catholic Rural Life Conference
66. Gilbert G. Stamm, Acting Assistant Commissioner for Irrigation and Planning, Bureau of Reclamation, United States Department of the Interior
67. Cernoria D. Johnson, Washington Representative, National Urban League
68. A. Philip Randolph, Co-Chairman, National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor
69. Dr. Frank P. Graham, Co-Chairman, National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor
70. Sargent Shriver, Director, Office of Economic Opportunity

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Arnold Mayer, Legislative Representative, pp. 7-8
H. L. Mitchell, International Representative, Agricultural & Allied Food Workers Union No. 300, p. 20
American Farm Bureau Federation: Matt Triggs, Assistant Legislative Director, pp. 13, 14-15
American Friends Service Committee: Bard McAllister, Farm Labor Secretary, p. 11
American G.I. Forum of the United States: Rudy L. Ramos, Director, p. 26
Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers: The Rev. Ralph J. Duggan, Executive Assistant, pp. 6-7
Brown, Mrs. Susie, Mississippi sharecropper, pp. 28-29
California Growers Farm Labor Committee: Edward F. Hayes, Secretary, p. 17
California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO: Thomas L. Pitts, Secretary-Treasurer, pp. 15, 18, 19-20

Citizens for Farm Labor, California: Anne Draper, Executive Committee Member, pp. 17-18
Coles, Dr. Robert, Research Psychiatrist, pp. 22-23, 30-31
Consumers League of Ohio, Migrant Labor Committee: Bernard S. Houghton, Chairman, p. 27
Council of Federated Organizations, Mississippi: Robert Moses, Co-Director, pp. 31-32
Epiphany Episcopal Church, Corcoran, California: Sister Anne Harrison, C.A., p. 11
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO: Clay Cochran, Legislative Consultant, pp. 47-49
Kings-Tulare Migrant Ministry, Visalia, California: David W. Havens, Director, p. 16
Mays, James N., Georgia farmer, pp. 29-30
Michigan Citizens' Council on Agricultural Labor, pp. 25-26
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National Catholic Rural Life Conference: The Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J., Director, Washington Office, pp. 50-51
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National Consumers League: Virginia Thatcher, Member of the Board of Directors, pp. 8-9
National Council for the Spanish Speaking: The Rev. Ralph J. Duggan, pp. 6-7
National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor: Ben Neufeld, Executive Secretary, p. 43
National Council of Churches: Dr. Betty Jean Patton, Department of the Church in Town and Country, pp. 12-13
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Puerto Rico, Commonwealth of, Department of Labor: Joseph Monserrat, Director, Migration Division, pp. 10-11
Rasmussen, Harry, California farm worker, p. 10
Taylor, Dr. Paul S., Berkeley, California, p. 28

Teamsters, Warehousemen, Helpers, and Production Workers Union, Independent, Local 424: William McClain, p. 7
United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO: Ralph Helstein, President (statement read by Clay Cochran), pp. 47-49
United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Department of Town and Country: Dr. Betty Jean Patton, pp. 12-13
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Frederick R. Blackwell, Counsel, Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, p. 12
Hon. Gale McGee, United States Senator from Wyoming, pp. 44, 45-47
Hon. James Roosevelt, Member of the House of Representatives, 26th District, California, p. 12
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United States Department of Agriculture:
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United States Department of Commerce: Anne L. Gould, Training Coordinator, Area Redevelopment Administration, pp. 39-40
United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare:
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Wilbur J. Cohen, Assistant Secretary, pp. 22, 25, 41-43 (statement read by Philip H. Des Marais, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislation)
United States Department of the Interior: Gilbert G. Stamm, Acting Assistant Commissioner for Irrigation and Planning, Bureau of Reclamation, pp. 51-52
United States Department of Labor:
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Jack Howard, Special Assistant to the Under Secretary, pp. 13, 15, 21-22
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